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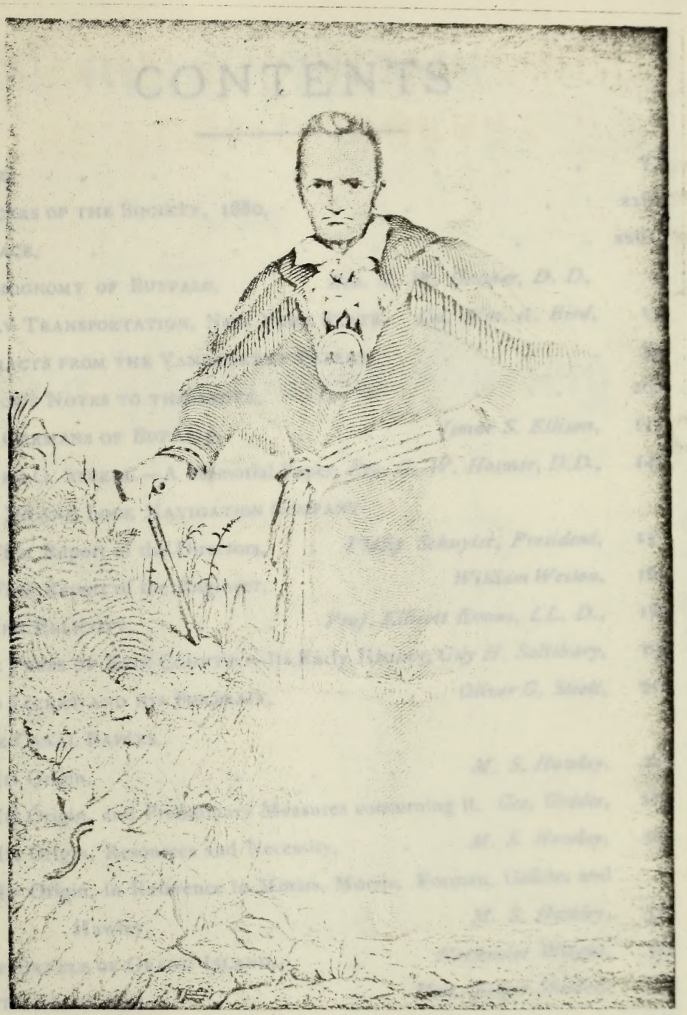
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* The key to the pronunciation of these names will be found at page 426.

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1880.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

In this volume, papers concerning Buffalo occupy less space than in the first; the whole number of articles being less, and averaging a greater length.

One subject, the "Origin of the Erie Canal," might appear to have inordinately extended treatment; and the Journal of Dr. Vanderkemp and Reports of the Inland Lock Navigation Companies, to be of remoter interest than is desirable in the collections of the Buffalo Historical Society. Yet it would seem that enough of this class of materials, to furnish a suitable setting for the more special articles upon Buffalo, should have admission, so that the present generation may be reminded of the days when this place "was not," and of the things done in the olden time to make Buffalo a necessity and a fact. Especially is this the case in regard to the truly vital subject of the process by which direct water communication was opened between the Hudson River and Lake Erie. It is for this reason, and not on account of any lack of materials for a strictly "Buffalo" volume, that the contents of this one are what they are. The difficulty of selecting from the plentiful matter on hand, has been almost as great as in preparing the former volume.

In the Erie Canal papers there is much repetition; yet justice could not be done to them by any abbreviation; and each, if printed at all, was entitled to stand complete in itself.

The same plan has been followed, and with the same care and minuteness as in the former volume, in preparing the Index.

As to certain matters relating to the eastern part of the State, B. B. Burt, Esq., of Oswego, has kindly sent some annotations, a part of which are embodied in the Editor's Note, at pp. 109-116. The remainder, not received in season to appear there, are given below.

Referring to Colonel William A. Bird's paper on early transportation in New York, Mr. Burt says:

"Mr. Bird has made some mistakes. He states in the third paragraph on page 18 that the French 'had established trading-houses at Oswego.' The French never had a permanent occupation of Oswego, nor did they ever establish a trading-house or houses at Oswego. They were here at the time of the capture of Oswego by Montcalm, in August, 1756, and then remained only a few days. I think he did not regard it prudent to remain any longer in the enemy's country, or when the English had the possession of this part of the State.

"In the next paragraph Mr. Bird states that the English 'obtained possession of Oswego by the treaty of peace with the French in 1756-7.' Although Beauharnois, on page 999 of vol. 9 of the N. Y. Colonial Documents, under date of March 16, 1728, claims that the French had a fort at Choüeguen (Oswego) and claimed to have occupied it, and claimed its possession, I do not think the claim well founded. Gov. Burnet virtually denies it in the third paragraph on the next page (1000), and claimed a right there. (See vol. 1, Doc. Hist. of N. Y., on page 321, under 'Additional Particulars.') It was only a coveted and imaginary, and not an actual possession.

"Prior to May 3, 1760, the English had reconstructed a fort (Ontario) at Choüeguen (Oswego), 'its army, commanded by Gage, had quitted the camp there, and left a garrison in a fort it had just constructed there.' (See vol. 10, Col. Doc., page 1078, third paragraph from the bottom.)

"On the tenth of August, that year, General Amherst embarked at Oswego with a force of eleven thousand for Montreal—and a capitulation was signed Sept. 8, 1760, by which act Canada passed under British domination.

"The English established a trading-house at Oswego in 1722. (See Smith's History of N. Y. [quarto, 1st ed.], p. 155 [part 5], also pages 158, 162 and 168. 1. Dunlap's Hist. of N. Y., 285.)

"A fort was erected by Colonial Governor Burnet at Oswego in 1727, called Fort Oswego, and sometimes Fort Pepperel. Forts Ontario and George, sometimes called Oswego New Fort, were constructed at Oswego in 1755-6 by the English. (1. Smith's Hist. of N. Y., p. 170. 1. Dunlap's Hist. of N. Y., p. 289. Smollett's History of England.) There are numerous authorities in addition to the above, but they are sufficient.

"In the fifth line from the bottom of page 18, and in the second line from the bottom of page 19, Col. Bird locates Fort Fontenac at Oswego. It should have been Fort Ontario. Fort Frontenac was at Kingston.

"On page 23, Colonel Bird states that he expected to have received some details in relation to the transportation business before the war, but had been disappointed.

"I have in my possession the commission which appointed Joel Burt (an uncle of mine), the first Collector of the District of Oswego, dated March 3, 1803, with the sign-manual of Thomas Jefferson as President, and James Madison as Secretary of State; also a commission of the same date and signatures, appointing him Inspector of the Revenue for the Port of Oswego. I have some of the original records of the office, which show with great precision, the amount and extent of the transportation business at the Port of Oswego during his term of office. Among them are all of the clearances for the season of 1804, 5, 6, and 7, then there is a blank in the book until October 10, 1810, and continued to and including June 11, 1811. The embargo act was passed December 21, 1807, and approved by the President, December 22, 1807, which explains the blank. Nathan Sage was appointed Collector as his successor, June 12, 1811. Many of the clearances are for Niagara, Queenston and Lewiston, and show that some of the goods were bound for Detroit. A great deal of salt was carried with general merchandise. Many of the clearances were for open boats.

"I have also a list of clearances from April 17 to August 29, 1809, giving dates, name of vessel or "open boat," names of masters and for what ports.

"Also a record of importations, dates, name of vessel, etc., master and articles, commencing July 31, 1803, to and including November 30, 1807, when there is another blank until July 14, 1810, and from that time entries to and including December 17, 1810.

"Also another book showing arrivals and clearances commencing March 31, 1810, to and including June 12, 1811.

"Also a copy of a return dated January 1, 1807, showing that one hundred and twenty-nine vessels and boats cleared in 1806, and ninety-one entrances, and that he granted thirty certificates to accompany goods over British portages at twenty cents each. The clearances and entries were $1.50 each, amounting to $336; his salary was $250; commission, $7.50.

"Also a copy of a statement or abstract of duties collected from July 1st, to September 30, 1806, amounting to $66.64.

"I am sure that the above are the only records of that period, showing the commerce of Oswego.

"The duties on property received here for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1880, amounted to $727,208.55. Duties June 30, 1880, to December 1, 1880, $640,463.30.

"Arrivals during season of 1879, 2,694, and during season to December 1, of 1880 (navigation still open), 2,840."

In reference to Judge Vanderkemp's Journal, and the Report of James Cockburn, Surveyor, appended thereto, Mr. Burt says:

"You will see that Mr. Cockburn makes Fish Creek empty into Wood Creek.

"Mr. Vanderkemp makes Fish Creek extend to Oneida Lake, and Wood Creek discharge into it. It shows that that which was below the point of intersection was not very well defined.

"Spafford's State Gazetteer of 1813 makes the Onondaga River extend to Oneida Lake. Cockburn says the same.

"The Roosevelts purchased a large tract from the State and transferred their contract, subject to certain reservations (490,136 acres), to George Scriba and Scriba, took a patent in 1794. That patent embraced most of this county east of the Oswego River."

The following corrections should be made in reading: pages 20, line 6 from bottom, and 47, line 2 from bottom, for "these river points" and "this river point," read "Three-River Point;" 24, line 7, for "1812" read "1810;" 112, lines 7–17 should follow line 24, annotating page 97; 138, middle, for "Lecoulteulx," read "Lecouteulx;" 144, line 1, for "Kressner" read "Krettner;" 289, line 9, for "Holly," read Holley;" 409, line 3, for "Armistead" read "Armistad."

With these observations this second volume is submitted to its readers.

A. B.

ANNUAL ADDRESS.

PHYSIOGNOMY OF BUFFALO.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 13, 1864.

BY REV. GEORGE W. HOSMER, D. D.

MEMBERS OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

My address must be historical; it shall be chiefly pertinent to the rise, growth and character of our city: my subject is The Physiognomy of Buffalo.

But in times like these, when momentous history is being made, and we are all so anxiously looking upon passing events, and straining forward to descry coming destinies,—our threatened nationality to be maintained, and liberty secured; our wealth and ourselves held ready for the public need; our young men to be given up if their country calls them; the dead to be mourned, and the living in perils of warfare to be followed with painful apprehensions,—amidst such experiences it is not easy to reverse the machinery, and, turning back leave the mighty crowd of daily events, and content oneself with gathering traditions and memories, and picturing the past.

And yet good may come from occasional diversion of interest: the balance and health of our faculties are sometimes lost by long and intense concentration. When we grow feverish with anxiety,—impatient with what must be borne, it may do us good to wrench the mechanism, and turn backward for a little while; by no means to neglect our duties in the present,—no, not for an hour,—but to maintain true poise and soundness of life, and have ourselves in readiness for right decisions and strenuous action.

Once wrested away from passing events, we soon find satisfaction in searching, and picturing to ourselves, the beginnings and progress of customs, institutions, and society,—from the oak back to the acorn,—from the Amazon back to its everlasting snow-drift fountain,—from these United States to those frail, tempest-tost vessels that felt their way to Virginia, to Massachusetts, to New York.

A few weeks ago, I was in a smart young town of Michigan, scarcely thirty years old, which is rapidly assuming the airs of a city; and in the house of one of the first settlers, I saw two pictures; rude enough they were, and yet there was Nature in them, and manifold suggestions. The artist was among the early settlers. One picture represented the first three or four cabins in Kalamazoo: women and children about the doors: the first doctor, on horseback, talking with a man at his cabin door, probably giving him a prescription for fever and ague, and ready to ride far and near to forest homes to keep souls and bodies from shaking asunder; and in the distance was seen the good Indian missionary coming on his mule to welcome the settlers, and raise the voice of prayer and worship in their new home. The other picture was of the first trial by jury in that County, in a log-cabin. There were the judges, the sheriff, the lawyers, the jury, the parties concerned.

These pictures seized my imagination; from those solid blocks of stores and dwellings and all the bustling life, I was back with the Romulus and Remus of the settlement, suckled

by the wolf of savagery and hardship, with those men and women who there gave themselves, like all first settlers, to win for their successors one of the thriftiest towns in the fairest country anywhere to be seen. Would that a painter had been here with our Romulus of Buffalo, Mr. Joseph Ellicott, to show him to us as he rode on horseback with Mrs. James Brisbane, in 1802, through the forest trees not far from where we are now, and, pointing to the lake and river seen through the leaves, assured her that a great city must arise here. We should like another picture of him standing by his compass in what now is Main street, in front of the churches: so confident is he that commerce must come here and pour out her horn of plenty, that he has resolved to lay out a city; so delighted is he with the grandeur of the situation, that he thinks he will make his home here: he selects for himself a noble manor, one hundred acres of land, between Eagle and Swan streets, and from Main nearly to Jefferson street, almost enough for a principality in Germany, and determines to build upon the western front, looking towards the lake. So here, upon what is to be the site of his house, he stands by his compass, indicating the lines which now are our streets: Main Street, running north and south upon the crown of land; Church Street, directly front from his door to the water; Erie Street to the mouth of the creek, where commerce must come; Niagara Street to Black Rock Ferry, which was a great institution in the early day;—and so on, to the completion of the plan.

Mr. Ellicott, in laying out our city, had large ideas, and worked upon a magnificent scale. There is originality in the plan. He did not bring a map of New York or Boston or Albany, and lay it down here; he wrought upon the inspiration of a magnificent hope, and we are greatly indebted to him for the open, handsome face of our city.

It is reported that Mr. Ellicott said, "God has made Buffalo, and I must try to make Batavia." God did make the place and its surroundings; the wooded ridge gently sloping toward

the sun, the lake stretching far away to the west, and pouring its unceasing flood along the majestic Niagara, close by,—the Canada shore, the Chautauqua and Cattaraugus hills, and the high lands of Evans, Aurora and Wales, *all together*, as seen from the Reservoir on Niagara Street, is a noble panorama. I love to take strangers to see it. God made these surroundings and background to relieve and set off our city's face, and He gives the contour of the physiognomy; but particular features are defined, and expression is given, by the streets and squares. Philadelphia, with its checker-board arrangement, looks set, precise, demure. Boston Common and the newly made parts of that city are very beautiful; but the most of its features are painfully contracted and snarled up. The face of New York is much too long for its breadth, and the forehead is still enlarging into monstrous proportions: cerebral diseases may be feared. State Street in Albany, and Capitol Square at its head, are like the fine nose and imperial brow of a noble face; but many of the features of Albany are cramped and distorted, as if the old builders, remembering little Holland, had still felt pinched for room, and so lived under the hill fighting against the floods of the Hudson, as their fathers had fought against the Zuyder Zee, instead of stretching over the sightly summits.

Our city has no neighboring hills, like Albany and Cincinnati, to heighten expression; but its plan and streets, for beauty, health and convenience, I think, are unrivalled. There is enough irregularity to prevent tiresome monotony, and not enough to create confusion. Mr. Ellicott, I suppose, intended Niagara Square should be the center of his city; from that point the streets run out in all directions, eight broad avenues; and at night when these streets are lighted, from that point in the Square where they all center, they make a grand show, double lines of light stretching off into the surrounding darkness. This Square did not become the center of the city, because the State reserved a mile strip along the Niagara River;

and so Buffalo was thrown to the east and south, in a measure interrupting the perfection of Mr. Ellicott's plan. But as it has turned out, we have received a largess of favor from his liberal designing,—he gave to the city a good, comely face.

But many of us can remember when the face of Buffalo was rather rough, and parts of the year too dirty with mire for washing to do any good. Main Street was as broad as Mr. Ellicott laid it out, but its mud was said to have no bottom. I have seen teams sloughed on Mohawk Street, near Delaware; and one team I remember seeing sunk so deep, that it seemed to be going through, until another team was brought to drag out and rescue the sinkers. I saw a young lady one day sloughed in the middle of Pearl Street, near Tupper, so that she could not step without leaving behind her shoes and overshoes, perhaps the whole foot apparel; and there she stood with a patience peculiar to those days, until I got boards and made a way for her poor feet. It was found every spring and fall that the face of Buffalo was too soft. Gradually our fine pavements for street and sidewalk have been extended—the best I know anywhere,—and now we have fifty-two miles of paved streets, so well graded that nowhere is there steepness enough to be inconvenient for heavy draughts, and everywhere there is descent enough to make quick and cleanly drainage. The physiognomy of Buffalo owes more than we think of to the excellent system of sewerage planned and recommended by Mr. Oliver G. Steele, and adopted more than twenty years ago; it has been gradually extended according to the original plan, until now we have fifty-four miles of sewers, all working in their hidden ways for the health and beauty of our city. Oh, those dirty-faced, foul-breathed cities without sewers! Chicago, Washington, Baltimore and parts of New York, in a hot morning of August or September, have not faces fit to be seen,—and the atmosphere in the by-places is loaded with disease. We have fifty-six miles of gas pipes, and thirty-three miles of water pipes, filling streets and houses with light, and furnishing water

to extinguish fires, promote cleanliness, and add to the comforts of home.

By all these outward means, costing about $2,000,000 in the aggregate, our city's physiognomy, which, though grand, was rude and shaggy at first, has been smoothed, refined and beautified. We all know in regard to human physiognomy what wonders are wrought by the surface touches of hatters, barbers and milliners: so has the face of our city been made comely.

But physiognomy depends much upon the soul within. A face may have good contour, fine complexion, elegant surroundings,—the features well enough,—and yet be blank, unmeaning. There can be no grand physiognomy without the illumination of a grand soul. I have watched college classes of young men, and seen the light of intelligence, and the delicate lines and touches of refinement coming into their faces, as their minds and hearts were raised and dignified by generous culture: unpromising heads and homely faces sometimes made glorious from the animating spirit that came out, visible, radiate, in eye and features.

The physiognomy of cities takes characteristic airs and expression from the spirit of builders and citizens. The cities of the middle ages, those strongholds, surrounded with walls, frowning with castles and towers, grew out of the belligerent spirit of cruel barbarism; and the physiognomy of those old feudal towns is like that of roughs and prize-fighters, by dreadful discipline made up to maul, or be mauled, to death. The old castellated mount of Edinburgh seems still clenching its fists, and gritting its teeth with the ancient Scottish hate of England ; and York and Chester wear the stern features which the Romans, gave them to overawe the ancient Britons. The towns and very hamlets of Wales still look grim and defiant toward England.

The French have built Paris, and how the spirit of France appears in the gay, showy capital! No place in the world like it to enjoy oneself, to be comfortable, to have pleasant sights,

and endless diversions, amusements, and scientific curiosities. It can take the weary, hard-worked man, and keep him busy in pleasant ways until he is rested; it can take the poor hypochondriac, and make him laugh himself into health. Gay, interesting, smiling Paris, the Worldling's Heaven! It is the ultimate result—the *chef d'oeuvre*—of the French spirit. Paris is France, and in its face shows the soul of the nation,—the theater more than the church, enjoyment more than virtue, the life that is, more than that which has not come yet.

We turn now to the physiognomy of our own city. It is a comely, noble face,—open, generous, pleasant, thoughtful, earnest; not grim, with knotted muscles, as though born out of combat, nor soft with blandishments for the merely sensuous nature. I like the face; it has a common-sense look of business, and yet it has æsthetic expression of convenience and beauty,—a wise and serious look; public school-houses among the fine buildings on the sightly avenues, and the churches more conspicuous and beautiful than the theater. Business, knowledge, beauty, religion, are in the features of our city, more than pleasure and diversions. Cities take their physiognomy in a large degree from the spirit of their builders and citizens: we expect the child to possess its parents' qualities and tendency. Who were the fathers and mothers and builders of Buffalo, and were they such men and women, as, according to our philosophy, we must presume them to be?

Mr. Ellicott, who first saw the possibility of a large city here, was no doubt a man of fine, natural sense, and far-sighted; he saw what no one else could or did see, for many years; and long after he had laid out the city, and, in his own mind, saw the streets made and lined with blocks of stores and houses, emigrants from the East, refusing opportunities here, went on to Chautauqua and to New Connecticut, not believing a word of Mr. Ellicott's about the certainty of a large city at the foot of Lake Erie. Men were slow to see that a great commerce must grow up on these lakes. They could not comprehend the

possibilities of the vast wilderness and prairies of the West; and the settlers that came in here to the hamlet and village of Buffalo, from the beginning even up to 1816, had not begun to believe in Mr. Ellicott's prophecy. They came here to make a living by the local trade, and perhaps secure something by advance of village lots; but very few cared much for the great city-plan, with its Dutch-named avenues and streets. Though General Washington, thirty years before, on a journey to Central and Northern New York, had foreseen western settlement and commerce, and though Mr. Ellicott saw a city here, the ordinary men said, What chance for commerce here, while the creek has to make a new mouth for itself every Spring, through the shifting sands of the lake shore? And yet commerce did increase, and Buffalo dragged along until it was burned up; then it arose again, and after the war was over, new men came, with new ideas and great expectations. Western emigration began to be an astounding fact, and far-sighted men saw what must be the consequences of it: ways of communication must be opened between West and East; a great canal must be made from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and at the western terminus of that canal, wherever it be, there must be a large commercial city. Such thoughts and conclusions drew bright, enterprising men to this vicinity, to Black Rock and Buffalo, from the new settlements of Western New York, and from New England, especially from Connecticut. Superior men came looking after the great opportunity. Where should the city be?

Gen. Peter B. Porter, an energetic, imperative man, a distinguished officer in the war that had lately closed, graced with the laurels he had won, and influential in the whole State, said the canal must come to Black Rock, and there the city must be; and he and his friends prevailed so far as to procure great State appropriations for the Black Rock harbor; and they felt so confident, that Black Rock was laid out for a great city. Meantime, Buffalo was struggling for recognition of her position and claims. We can hardly conceive of the intense rivalry

and his confidence and the substantial reasons he could give for it, made him the man to plead for the interests of Buffalo. The day was hot, and our advocate, says my informant, pulled off his coat, and, according to the habit of his laborious life, worked for us all in his shirt-sleeves! And Mr. Dart says that after the hearing, Governor Clinton summed up the whole matter in a judicial way, letting it be quite distinctly seen that, in his opinion, this was the place for the city, and that here the canal should terminate. During the years 1822 and 1823, with great struggle, the question was settled. The canal was to come to Buffalo. There were large-minded men here, who saw the opportunity, and with all their might laid hold of it.

The first thing to be done was to give Buffalo Creek a permanent, stationary mouth, into which vessels could enter. It was a difficult and expensive work. Black Rock said it never could be done; but there were men here who said it should be done. But how? There was not ready money enough in the whole village to pay for such a work, and it was proposed that, if possible, twelve thousand dollars should be obtained by loan from the State. A bond was made, and the names that went upon that bond for the loan should be known to every inhabitant of Buffalo. That was the hard lift, that the *magnum opus* —and showed the noble purpose and determination of the men who gave the bond. In their day of small things, all of them comparatively poor, they bound themselves for the means to make it seem possible that there could be a harbor at this point. Everything depended on this: the State refused to do the experimental work, the Canal Commissioners doubted; and so four men put their names to the bond, and got the twelve thousand dollars from the State; and with other money, private subscriptions in small sums from the villagers, to be given in labor, in shoes, in blacksmithing, in stone, in pork, in brush for fascines, the first breakwater was constructed under the direction, and in part by the hands, of Judge Wilkeson, in 1820 and 1821. These were the names upon that bond: At the

head, and probably the originator of the plan, S. Wilkeson; let it stand upon his monument at Forest Lawn, of granite, like his character,—*Urbem condidit*, he built the city. Charles Townsend and George Coit, young men from Connecticut, partners in a village trade, and Oliver Forward, a lawyer, and strong-natured man;—all these four are builders of the city,—they took up the mountain and cast it into the sea. Others helped, —*all worked then*, when life and death for Buffalo hung on the ends of the balance. How little do we, who have entered into other men's labors, think how they struggled for what we so securely enjoy! There was Judge Wilkeson's breakwater, made of fascines, filled in with rocks and sand, and bound together. *Black Rock, and others*, said the first spring storm would send the Judge's fascines down the Niagara in a hurry; and there was danger,—Buffalo felt afraid. Mr. Henry Lovejoy says he remembers going with two hundred men down to the breakwater, at the mouth of the creek, in the Spring of 1822, each with a shovel on his shoulder, that they might be there when the ice broke up and went out of the creek, and, by shoveling, manage the currents and protect the new breakwater. They waited there all day, the creek still as dead, playing 'possum while they watched it. At dark they came home, hungry, tired, scolding at commercial difficulties, and, lo, in the night the flood burst out, as my informant says, turning the breakwater upside down. But the Judge had made it fast together, and so heavily weighted it with stone, that it held fast its integrity and kept its place; and, to this day, the old cribs remain under the massive stone breakwater at the light-house. The floods were foiled, and Black Rock was non-suited. Buffalo had a harbor, and a way to get into it and out of it.

Meantime, the canal was making; and, in 1825, came the grand opening of the New York highway between East and West; all clouds now had cleared away, and sunshine rested upon the fortunes of Buffalo.

We will not fail to do justice to those men who were the

fathers and builders of our handsome-faced city; there were among them many large-minded, far-seeing men, and they gave their own great proportions to the city they builded; and the expression of our city's physiognomy tells of Ellicott, and Wilkeson, and Townsend, and Coit, and Forward, and Heacock, and Johnson, and Pratt, and Love, and Tracy, and Potter, and Joy, and Webster, and Chapin, and the men who preached the Gospel, and those who taught the youth. Those men, the builders, almost all are gone; and if any one inquires for their monument, tell him to open his eyes, and look around! *Circumspice.*

But the most of those men who did so well, and the active men who came after them, are said to have made fools of themselves in the speculations of 1835, which were, indeed, as wild here in Buffalo, as anywhere in the country. There are old men in New England, and multitudes of them in Old England, who think of our beautiful city as wearing a fool's face, because it had the speculation mania badly. Let me say a word about this. We deny that there is a single deep mark of a fool in the physiognomy of our city. The folly was only a passing shade. The fact is, we all make fools of ourselves some time, in some way, and the only question among us is, of more or less. Go read how the canny Scotchmen, one hundred and seventy years ago, were maddened and befooled by the Darien speculation, which had no other basis than a dream-idea which one Paterson had, of opening a passage across the Isthmus of Darien. Fletcher, of Saltoun, chiefly known by his saying, "Let me make a nation's songs, and whoever will may make their laws," wise as he was, had this fever, and others among the shrewdest; and, for six years, cold Scotia was all aflame, and then came utter collapse of the emptiness. Go read how Paris, all France indeed, was befooled, in 1718, by Law and his scheme of the Mississippi and India Company, a magnificent humbug hatched in the brain of one single man; all Paris went crazy for three or four years. More absurd things are told of than were ever done here.

But England claims never to lose common-sense. Go read of her South Sea mania, in 1720. The whole nation was affected, from the throne to the cottage. The idea was to get gold and silver by going round Cape Horn to Peru and Mexico. The scheme was called the Earl of Oxford's masterpiece. Spain, powerful then, never allowed them to do a thing towards realizing their idea; but knaves blew it up into the most magnificent bubble, and for four or five years, the South Sea mania and its mighty Company swelled with gigantic pretensions. It would shoulder the whole national debt of thirty-one millions sterling; it would pour riches into every house; it swelled, AND THEN—it burst! and English Common-sense was seen, with foolish and enraged look, staring at the floating vapors. The mania of speculation here was not so strange,—there was foundation to stand upon. From the opening of the canal, in 1825, there was a *rush* of western emigration through Buffalo; each year it grew greater than before; the canal was crowded; hotels all full; warehouses groaned under their burdens; vessels and steamers could not be built fast enough for the demands of business. I was here in the autumn of 1835, and one morning I was at the dock, with many other strangers, gazing upon the mighty heaving western tide. There was a pile of goods and furniture all along on Joy and Webster's wharf, more than twenty feet high, and upon the top of it sat as many as a dozen Senecas, men and women, they, too, with the rest of us, gazing with astonishment at this sudden flood of life sweeping over them, coming they knew not whence, and going they knew not whither. It was marvelous! Land was wanted; land to stand upon, land to speculate with; land was gold! And *then* it seemed that all the opening West was to come with its harvest-contributions floating right to Buffalo. Railroads then were not much thought of for carrying freight. To this point came the lake,—from this went the canal; and here might be the New York of the West; and so it would have been, but for the coming of railroads to compete with vessels for the carrying

trade. It was not strange that the men here made a great mistake—got wild with hope; and that some were hoisted upon their bubbles to get very bad falls; but generally there was some basis to speculation; it was not all idea and dream; there were real facts enough to make sensible men hope prodigiously. It may seem very wise to look back and laugh at the old builders and business men of Buffalo, but they were wiser than Solomon, compared with Scotland, France and England when their ravings came.

I love to think what those men of Buffalo in 1835, in their great hope, meant to do here. The merchants were to have an exchange filling Clarendon Square, with a towering dome two hundred and twenty-five feet above the pavement. Commodore Perry was to have a monument of white marble in front of the churches one hundred feet high, with graceful carving, armorial bearings, and emblematic statues. Education was to have the University of Western New York, with magnificent endowment, and the foremost men of the country in its various departments. Nor were the good intents all on paper, merely—one of the wildest of the hopers did actually start a free public school for sixty scholars, children of the poor, and kept it open and flourishing for several years. I honor men, who if they do get crazed by enterprise and too much hope, show themselves large-minded and nobly generous, grateful to patriots, munificent to education, mindful of the poor, and anxious to bestow true riches and quickened life upon posterity!

With the mind's eye, behold our city's physiognomy, as the great hopers meant it should be, with the beautiful Perry monument, and the University of Western New York with its grand buildings on North street, rivalling Yale or Harvard, and society graced and improved by its teachers and students; and with a commerce on the lake that might require a merchants' exchange as large and high as was dreamed of. Despite the ridicule upon those builders' failure, the future may fulfill their expectation more nearly than we think.

In regard to faces, association does wonders; the old adage comes true, "Handsome is, that handsome does"; even homely features may get so blent with truth, love, and nobleness, that to the mind's eye they are beautiful. The kind, good woman, though with no line of grace or beauty in form or face, who has left home and friends, and for the sake of mercy gone to the hospitals, becomes beautiful as an angel to the sick soldier, as she bends over him with a mother's tenderness, striving to relieve his anguish. And just so it is with cities' faces. There is little Calais, in France: to my mind it has always worn a halo of glory ever since in my old school-book I read how Edward III. of England was about to put the city to fire and sword, but consented to spare the inhabitants and their homes and children, if six of the principal men of the city would volunteer to come bareheaded and barefooted, with halters about their necks, to be hanged in view of his besieging, victorious army. And the martyr heroes came, Eustace de St. Pierre at their head. Such nobleness has given interest and beauty to Calais for all these five hundred years! The old pilgrims of 1620 gave a glory to the unromantic shores and barren hills of Plymouth; and travelers will not cease to go to that shrine of lofty self-sacrifice to truth and freedom, to gaze upon the brave, heroic face of that landscape. And, alas, how the face of a city that is fair enough to the outward sight, may to the mind's eye get a look of deformity that will make outward comeliness as nothing. There is New York, imperial city, at the gates of the world's commerce, the waters gathering around her as if anxious to bear her freighted keels; but oh, that hard, meanly cruel scowl upon her face, wrought there by riot against law, and savage massacre of weak, unoffending men, women and children, because God had made them with a dark skin! And, let the truth be told, our own city got an ugly mark, a stain not readily washed out, by similar riot and bloodshed. Sin destroys beauty! Look far away towards the sunset, to the Golden Horn of the West, where San Francisco, Queen of the

Pacific, sits beside the sea. She has been noble: though so far away, and tempted to stand aloof in selfish isolation, she has felt the laboring heart-beat of the Union, and of liberty; and while bearing her share of public burden, she has sent hundreds of thousands to the Sanitary Commission. With generous loyalty she turns towards us, and stretches out her arms to help. To the mind's eye how noble and fair the face of that young Pacific Queen! Handsome is, that handsome does.

The builders of our city have done their work, and, on the whole, have done it well. They have made for us a dwelling-place with open, finely formed features; and their earnest, generous spirit gives a handsome expression. But Buffalo is not finished; generations yet to come are still to be builders; and every one of us in public or private life, is giving expression more and more, good or bad, to our city's face.

NEW YORK STATE

EARLY TRANSPORTATION.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 29, 1866.

BY COL. WILLIAM A. BIRD.

THE transportation through this State is now counted by millions of tons; the receipts from it amount to many millions of dollars; and yet there are those now living who formed a part of the first line for transportation from Albany to Lake Erie, when the business at any one place was transacted by one firm, and the gross amount of merchandize did not, for the year, much, if any, exceed one hundred tons.

The growth of this State in wealth and resources, within the last fifty years, is without a parallel in the history of the world. Extending from the ocean to the lakes,—with a magnificent ocean harbor, and the noble Hudson affording ship navigation one hundred and fifty miles within it,—with the numerous small lakes and water-courses in the interior, and a surface of country which Nature seems to have provided and pointed out to us for artificial navigation, this State has a commanding influence and control over the transportation of the merchandize and produce of the great Western States, to the growth of which it has so essentially contributed, and which in their turn have

added so much to our prosperity, our wealth and our importance.

Of the beginning of the transportation business, and of its growth to the commencement of the work on the Erie Canal, I propose to give a hasty history.

Before the Revolutionary War very little was known of the country west of Utica. The Dutch, who were the first to settle on Manhattan Island, had extended their settlements up along the Hudson River to Albany, and westward up the Mohawk as far as the German Flats.

The French had come into the country by the St. Lawrence River, and had pushed their settlements up that river to Lake Ontario, the Niagara, Detroit and other rivers westward; they had built forts or stockades at Niagara and Schlosser, and had established trading-houses at Oswego, and at both ends of the portage around Niagara Falls, at which they carried on an extensive barter with the Indians.

The English, after their treaty of peace with the Dutch in 1674, held peaceable possession of Manhattan Island, and all the territory before claimed by them in this State. They also claimed, by right of discovery, all of this State westward to the lakes, but do not seem to have occupied any considerable portion of it beyond the German Flats or Utica. They, however, made great efforts to entice the Indians and their trade to Albany, and to divert them from the French. By the treaty of peace with the French in 1756–7, they obtained possession of Oswego and Niagara; and in 1758 they erected a fort at what is now Rome, called Fort Stanwix, and afterwards called Fort Schuyler, to protect the frontier settlements from the Indians, and to facilitate their then communication with Fort Frontenac at Oswego, and that way with Niagara.

Soon after the close of the Revolutionary War, the attention of public men was attracted to the beautiful, well watered, well wooded and fertile country in Western New York.

General Washington, in 1784, made a tour westward from

Schenectady up the Mohawk to Fort Schuyler: he crossed over to Wood Creek; thence to the head waters of the eastern branch of the Susquehanna. In a letter to the Marquis of Chastellux, he says: "Prompted by these observations, I could not help taking a more contemplative and extensive view of the vast inland navigation of these United States, and could not but be struck with the immense diffusion and importance of it. Would to God, we may have the wisdom to improve them."

Elkanah Watson was among the first to appreciate the importance of a safe, easy and expeditious channel of communication between the Hudson and the lakes. In 1788 he visited the extreme settlements on the western frontier of New York. In his Journal he said: "I left Fort Stanwix on my way down Wood Creek to Lake Ontario, and perhaps to Detroit, having a strong presentiment that a canal communication will be opened, sooner or later, from the great lakes to the Hudson."

The citizens of Philadelphia and Baltimore early became acquainted by way of the Susquehanna with the western part of New York, and saw the importance of diverting the trade of that country to their markets.

In 1791, in an account of the Ontario country, published in Philadelphia, the writer says: "It is in contemplation at present, to make a water communication between the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill, which, if effected, will lay open the market of Philadelphia for the reception of the produce of all the Genesee country." Another writer, in 1799, says: "The early settlers on the navigable streams find the most advantageous market for their produce in Canada, where they send their beef, pork, flour and whiskey. To the County of Steuben, Nature has pointed out a market by the Susquehanna River. Several of its branches afford good navigation for boats, carrying six to eight tons, to the most westerly parts of the county."

Governor George Clinton accompanied the expedition against Fort Frontenac, at Oswego, in 1756, as a Lieutenant, in a Company commanded by his brother James, afterwards General,

Clinton, and thus obtained a knowledge of the country which was valuable to him in his subsequent public life. In 1791, when Governor of this State, in his message to the Legislature, he said: "Our frontier settlements, freed from apprehension of danger, are rapidly increasing, and must yield extensive resources and a profitable commerce. This consideration forcibly recommends the policy of continuing to facilitate the means of communication with them."

The Legislature, acting on the Governor's recommendation, passed a law, entitled "An Act concerning Roads and Internal Navigation," which directed the Commissioners of the Land Office to cause the country to be explored between Fort Stanwix and Wood Creek, and between the Hudson and Wood Creek, in the County of Washington; and directed them to make an estimate of the expenses of constructing canals on those routes. The Commissioners made a favorable report, whereupon the Legislature passed "An Act for establishing and opening Lock Navigation within this State." The Act provided for the incorporation of two Associations—The Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, and the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company. This Act appointed no less than fifty-six Directors in the two Companies, from among the most eminent men in this State. These Directors selected a Committee, consisting of Philip Schuyler, Goldsbrow Banyan and Elkanah Watson, to examine the country on the western route; who in August and September made a careful survey of the Mohawk River from Schenectady to Fort Schuyler, a distance of one hundred and twenty-one and three-quarters miles, and Wood Creek, which has its source near Fort Schuyler, and empties into Oneida Lake, the outlet of which connects at these river points with the Oswego River. This Committee made their report, September, 1792, very much in detail. They estimated the expense of clearing out the Mohawk, for the construction of a canal with five locks around the Little Falls, and for a canal from Fort Schuyler to Wood Creek. They estimated the aggregate

expense to complete the navigation from Schenectady to Wood Creek at £39,500, or $100,000. A Stock Company was organized, and the work immediately commenced.

The art of constructing canals was little understood, and the topography of the country was not accurately ascertained. Many of the shareholders forfeited their shares. A few, more persevering, prosecuted the undertaking, and established an imperfect canal a little less than three miles long, with five locks at the Little Falls; a canal one and one-fourth long at German Flats, and a canal one and three-fourths long from the Mohawk to Wood Creek, and constructed several wooden locks on that stream. These improvements were in use until the construction of the Erie Canal. By the requirements of the Act passed April 17th, 1817, these works were appraised by Commissioners, and passed into the ownership of the State, at a cost of $153,810.80, of which the State received, as owner of the stock, $62,204.80. After the completion of the Erie Canal, this route and the works connected with it were abandoned and suffered to go to decay.

When the mile strip along the Niagara River was surveyed into lots in 1804, the Surveyor-General reserved from sale a mile square at Lewiston, the Steadman farm at Schlosser, and all that part south of a line a little north of Ferry Street at Black Rock; which latter was laid out into village lots, and known as the "South Village of Black Rock." The State owning the landings at Lewiston and Schlosser, sold in 1806, at auction, the lease of the portage between those places. The lease was purchased by Augustus and Peter B. Porter, Benjamin Barton and Joseph Annin, who, thereby, had the exclusive right of the portage, and were required to perform the whole service, and as a consequence, they were "The Monopoly" of the day, —much talked of, much abused, but never wanting in efficiency or in prompt and honorable dealings.

They did business under the name of "Porter, Barton & Co." They formed a connection with Mathew McNair, at

Oswego, and Jonathan Walton & Co., at Schenectady, in the forwarding business, and thus created the first regular line of forwarders that ever did business from tide-water to Lake Erie, on the American side of the Niagara. Goods were transported by teams from Albany to Schenectady; thence by boats to the Oswego Falls; around those falls by a portage; thence by boats to vessels at Oswego, and in them to Lewiston; by teams over the portage to Schlosser, and up the Niagara River in large Durham boats. This class of boats are now out of use here. They were open, with running-boards twelve or fourteen inches wide, over the wale, the whole length of the boat, and were propelled up the stream by poles, the men on the two sides of the boat walking with the poles to their shoulders from bow to stern, and so repeating the long tedious way up the river. Returning down the current, the boats were managed with oars. Our worthy fellow-citizen, Captain James Sloan, yet living, has walked these planks many a weary mile, and has held the helm, directing the boat on very many passages up and down this river.

Porter, Barton & Co. built warehouses at Lewiston, Schlosser and at Black Rock, near the foot of what is now called Breckinridge Street. They also sunk piers in the bay or eddy below and near to Bird Island; and on them erected a large warehouse, at which vessels could lie, to discharge and receive their cargoes. The river boats were sometimes drawn by the "horn breeze" up the Black Rock Rapids to this warehouse, and at other times discharged their cargoes at the lower warehouse, to which the schooners would come, and in their turn (if the wind was not favorable) be drawn out of the river by the aforesaid "horn breeze," which was a team of from six to twelve yoke of oxen, kept by the Company for that purpose, attached to a hawser hitched to the mast of the vessel, and supported between the vessel and shore by small boats.

The teams on the portage were generally three yoke of oxen owned by the Company; and the load from Lewiston to

Schlosser twelve barrels of salt, or its equivalent in merchandise. They made but one trip a day. Some estimate may be formed of the number employed, when fifteen to eighteen thousand barrels of salt, besides merchandise, were drawn over the portage during the navigable season. The Company gave employment to all teamsters who offered. These frequently used horses, seven barrels being a load when the roads were good, and they were paid two shillings to two shillings and six pence per barrel—the charge on salt from Lewiston to Black Rock was seven shillings per barrel, and from Schlosser three shillings; on freight, six shillings per cwt. from Lewiston to Black Rock; on down freight, from Schlosser to Lewiston, three shillings per barrel.

The writer had been promised and expected to have received from Alvin Bronson, Esq., of Oswego, and from Mr. Hall, an early vessel-owner at Sackett's Harbor, some details in relation to the business, before the war, on Lake Ontario and the St. Lawrence River, but he has been disappointed. He, however, now has a letter from Hon. Alvin Bronson, the only surviving member of the first Transportation Companies, as follows:

OSWEGO, January 19th, 1866.

W. A. BIRD, ESQ.: *Dear Sir*—Yours of the 17th inst. received. I arrived at Oswego, Spring of 1810, and in connection with my partners, Jacob Townsend and Sheldon Thompson, established the warehouse and forwarding business on the lakes. Our establishments were located at Oswego, Lewiston and Black Rock, and for two years before and two or three after the War of 1812, our firm of Townsend, Bronson & Co., in connection with Porter, Barton & Co., lessees of the State Portage of Niagara Falls, conducted most of the transit business of all the lakes, comprising salt for the Pittsburg market, the Indian annuities, military stores for the frontier posts, the Fur Company's goods and peltries, together with the merchandise and products of the Lake region. I found Jonathan Walton, of Schenectady, the only established forwarder of goods between Albany and Oswego. Afterward, and during the war, he connected John J. DeGraff in his business, under the

firm of Walton & DeGraff, which firm transported all the stores for the army and navy from Albany to Oswego. These were consigned to me at Oswego, where I held the office of Public Store Keeper, under appointments from the Quarter-master's Department for the Army, and Commodore Chauncey for the navy. After the war, Eri Lusher established himself as a forwarder at Schenectady, in competition with Walton & DeGraff.

On the year of my arrival, 1812, a Commission arrived at Oswego, appointed by the Legislature, to explore a canal route between the lakes and tide-water, consisting of DeWitt Clinton, Thomas Eddy and Peter B. Porter. The War of 1812 arrested or delayed the project, and when resumed in 1817, the overland route for the Erie Canal was adopted.

In accordance with a former letter, I intended to have given a more elaborate article for your contemplated work, but have not found as much time as I anticipated; and, besides, I find, as age advances, exertion, either mental or physical, grows more irksome.

Respectfully, Your Ob't S't,

ALVIN BRONSON.

After the war, a branch firm was established at Black Rock, by Porter, Barton & Co. and Townsend, Bronson & Co., under the name of Sill, Thompson & Co., which continued in business until about the year 1823 or 1824.

The traffic to the West from the Hudson increased with wonderful rapidity after the War of 1812. The farmers' teams which took their grain to market could not supply the merchandise required in the western villages, growing into wealth and importance. Additional facilities were required, and the teams between Albany and Schenectady gradually extended their routes further westward. Regularly organized lines of teams were formed for inland transportation along the turnpike and main roads to Buffalo, having several teams of five, seven and nine horses, hitched to great Pennsylvania, or "Canastoga," wagons. Of these, many will remember one line run by Robert Hunter & Co., and one by Brown & Co. These teams were usually from twelve to eighteen days on the road from Albany to Buffalo, and the charges were from $2.50 to $5.00 per hun-

dred. On the stage route, as many as twenty to thirty of these teams would be seen in a day. Taverns for their accommodation, with large barns and sheds, were established every twelve or fifteen miles along the route; which, of themselves, made quite a formidable village appearance. All these, with the large outlay of wagons, became dead property on the opening of the Erie Canal; the decaying remains of many of them are yet to be seen along the old stage route to Albany.

The canal soon drew to it all the active business. The villages on the old route were deserted by the most enterprising, and new villages started up along the canal. The portage, and the warehouses connected with it, became worthless. Lewiston, where Surveyor-General De Witt had anticipated a large town, was "left out in the cold." The unmeasured water-power at the Falls, where the Messrs. Porter and Barton had taken up large tracts of land, at the sale by the State, looking to a manufacturing town, became comparatively useless. The canal had diverted the trade, and had created a more available hydraulic power at Black Rock and Lockport.

The Erie Canal having become popular, and the controlling route and means of transportation, and as there is some diversity of opinion existing, or want of correct information in relation to its beginning, some account of its early history may not be inappropriate here.

In relation to the person to whom the credit should be given for the first suggestion of the practicability of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson, there can be no doubt. With our present knowledge of the country between the Hudson and the lakes, it would seem hardly possible that an intelligent man should pass over it, along its streams and numerous lakes, without thinking that some improvements would be made, by which they should be made subservient to our use, to transport the produce of this fertile region to a market. It is not, therefore, surprising that many have suggested canals and improvements in the rivers and streams connecting the small lakes; but

to *Gouverneur Morris* should be given the credit of first suggesting the *grand idea* of a continuous canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson.

Simeon De Witt, the Surveyor-General of this State for over forty years, uses the following language in a letter to William Darby, in 1822 :

"A considerable discussion, as you know, has appeared in print about the origin of the Erie Canal, with a view of ascertaining who is entitled to the honor of it. The following statement of facts will, I believe, enable the public to form a correct opinion on this point. The merit of first starting the idea of a direct communication by water, between Lake Erie and the Hudson, unquestionably belongs to Gouverneur Morris. The first suggestion I had of it was from him. In 1803, I accidentally met him at Schenectady. We put up for the night at the same inn, and passed the evening together. Among the numerous topics of conversation, to which his prolific mind and excessive imagination gave birth, was that of improving the means of intercourse with the interior of this State. He then mentioned the project of *tapping Lake Erie*, as he expressed himself, and leading its waters, in an artificial river, across the country to the Hudson. To this I very naturally opposed the intermediate hills and valleys as insuperable obstacles. His answer was, in substance, '*Labor improbus omnia vincet;*' and that the object would justify the labor and expense, whatever it might be. Considering this as a romantic thing, and characteristic of the man, I related it on several occasions. Mr. Geddes now reminds me that I mentioned it to him in 1804, when he was a member of the Legislature; and adds, that afterwards, when in company with Jesse Hawley, it became a subject of conversation, which probably led to inquiries that induced him to write the essays which afterwards appeared in the newspapers, on the subject of carrying a canal from Lake Erie to Albany, through the interior of the country, without going by way of Lake Ontario."

Governor Seward, in his introduction to the Natural History of the State of New York, says :

"To Gouverneur Morris, History will assign the merit of first suggesting a direct, continuous communication from Lake Erie to the Hudson. In 1800, he announced this idea from the shores of the Niagara River to a friend in Europe, in the following enthusiastic language : 'Hundreds of large ships will, at no distant period, bound on the billows of these inland seas. Shall I lead your astonishment to the verge of incredulity? I will. Know, then, that one-tenth part of the expense borne by Great Britain in the last cam-

paign, would enable ships to sail from London, through the Hudson River, to Lake Erie. As yet, we only crawl along the outer shell of our country. The interior excels the part we inhabit, in soil, in climate, in everything. The proudest empire of Europe is but a bauble, compared with what America may be,—must be.'"

Colden, in his Memoirs, says:

"The praise awarded to Gouverneur Morris must be qualified by the fact, that the scheme he conceived was that of a canal with a uniform declension, and without locks, from Lake Erie to the Hudson river."

The political parties in this State have each claimed to be the especial friends of the canal. The public records show that both have supported the canal, and that individuals of both parties have opposed it. Governors Tompkins, Clinton, and Marcy each strongly recommended its vigorous prosecution, in their Messages to the Legislature. The Journals of the Senate and Assembly show that it was supported by Bucktails and Clintonians, Democrats and Whigs. The friends and opponents of the canal were divided by localities; the western members being always for it, while in its early stages the southern members, those on the Hudson River, the southern tier of counties, and those from the extreme north-western counties, were most of them opposed to it. And it was not until its successful operation that they fell into line in its favor.

In 1807, Albert Gallatin, then Secretary of the Treasury, in pursuance of a recommendation made by Thomas Jefferson, President of the United States, reported a plan for appropriating all the surplus revenues of the General Government to the canals and turnpike roads; and Mr. Seward, in 1842, says: "It embraced in one grand and comprehensive view, nearly without exception, all the works which have since been executed or attempted in the several States of the Union. This bold and statesmanlike, though premature, conception of that eminent citizen, will remain the greatest amongst the many monuments of his forecast and wisdom."

In 1808, Mr. Forman in the Assembly, referring to the fore-

going report of Mr. Gallatin, submitted a Resolution "for a Joint Committee to take into consideration the propriety of exploring and causing an accurate survey to be made of the most eligible and direct route for a canal, to open a communication between the tide-waters of the Hudson River and Lake Erie." That Resolution was adopted, and a Joint Committee appointed.

March 21st, 1808, Mr. Ford, from that Committee, made a Report and submitted a Resolution, directing the Surveyor-General to cause the surveys to be made, which was agreed to by both Houses, and an appropriation of six hundred dollars made for the purpose.

June 11th, the Surveyor-General appointed James Geddes to make those surveys. Mr. Geddes proceeded at once to survey, first, the communication between Oneida Lake and Ontario; second, the Niagara River; third, the interior route, without descending to or passing through Lake Ontario. His survey was well executed, and completed in 1808, and his Report and maps submitted January 20th, 1809.

It is remarkable that Mr. Geddes' surveys and levels, made in the woods and uncultivated country, have been proved by all subsequent surveys and levels to have been very accurate. And it is more remarkable that he should have been able to accomplish so much with so small an appropriation—a sum which in those days would hardly fit out a surveying party, or prepare them to begin a survey.

In 1810, March 3d, Jonas Platt, in the Senate, introduced a Resolution appointing Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, DeWitt Clinton, Simeon DeWitt, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter, Commissioners for exploring the whole route, examining the present state of the navigation, and considering what further improvements ought to be made therein; which Resolution was adopted by Senate and Assembly; and an Act passed, April 5th, directed the Treasurer to pay three thousand dollars for the expenses thereof.

Cadwallader D. Colden, in his Memoirs,—himself one of the

earliest and ablest advocates of the canal,—awards to Thomas Eddy the merit of having suggested this motion to Mr. Platt, and to both these gentlemen that of engaging DeWitt Clinton's support—he being at that time a member of the Senate.

These Commissioners made a personal examination of the country in 1811, and made a very able and full Report in March, 1811, in relation to the several routes proposed. They recommended the inland route, and estimated its cost at about five millions of dollars. In respect to this route the Commissioners refer to the Report and maps of Mr. Geddes. They say: "From them it is evident that such a navigation is practicable. Whether the route he sketched out will hereafter be pursued,—whether a better may not be found, and other questions subordinate to these, can only be solved at a future time;" and, "They cannot too often repeat that this report must be accepted, as suggestions proceeding from a superficial view, and not as conclusions founded on sufficient and scientific investigations;" and, "They take the liberty of entering their feeble protest against a grant to private persons or companies. Too great a National interest is at stake. It must not become the subject of a job, or a fund for speculation. Among other objections, there is one insuperable: that it would defeat the contemplated cheapness of transportation."

This Report, Mr. Seward says, was written by Gouverneur Morris, who was President of the Board.

Mr. Clinton introduced a Bill, entitled "An Act to provide for the Internal Navigation of this State," which became a law April 11th, 1811, appointing the same persons Commissioners, —with the addition of Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton,—authorizing them to apply to the General Government for aid, and to employ more engineers and surveyors; and directing the same to advance to them any sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars, to be accounted for by them.

March 11th, 1812, the Commissioners made another Report, reciting their application to the General Government, and the

action of the several States with which they had communicated on this subject. They are in this language: "The Commissioners, [in their first Report,] took the liberty to express the opinion that an offer should be made to the National good; and they saw with pleasure and with pride that the Legislature (concurring in that opinion) adopted the most honorable means for inducing the United States to acquire it. But the offer made was not accepted, and the State is at liberty to consult and pursue the maxims of policy."

From the States, the replies were to the following effect: Tennessee, Massachusetts and Ohio would instruct their Members of Congress to favor the application; New Jersey, Connecticut and Vermont do not favor the application; Michigan decided that the inland route through New York was not so desirable as the route by the Falls of Niagara and Lake Ontario. The Commissioners thereupon examined the advantages of the two routes, and again reported most decidedly in favor of the inland route. After describing its advantages, and refuting the arguments of those opposed to the canal project, they said: "Things which twenty years ago a man would have been laughed at for believing, we now see. Under these circumstances there can be no doubt that those microcosmic minds which, habitually occupied in the consideration of what is little, are incapable of discussing what is great, and who already stigmatize the proposed canal as a romantic scheme, will not unsparingly distribute the epithets, absurd, ridiculous, chimerical, on the estimate of what it may produce. The Commissioners must, nevertheless, have the hardihood to brave the sneers and sarcasms of men, who, with too much pride to study, and too much wit to think, undervalue what they do not understand, and condemn what they cannot comprehend." Again: "Will it then appear improbable that twenty years hence the canal should annually bring down two hundred and fifty thousand tons?"—"Standing on such facts is it extravagant to believe that New York may look forward to the receipt (at

no distant day) of one million dollars net revenue from this canal? The life of an individual is short. The time is not distant when those who make this Report will have passed away. But no time is fixed to the existence of a State; and the first wish of a patriot heart is, that his own may be immortal." They estimated the expense at about $6,000,000, and add, "The expense, be it what it may, is no object when compared with the incomparable benefit."

March 8th, 1814. The Commissioners made another Report in which they say they have engaged an engineer in England, and await his arrival to commence the surveys for the exact line to be adopted, and that their further examinations continue to be more and more satisfactory, but have been suspended by the war.

March 8th, 1816. This Board of Commissioners made their last Report. They repeat their confidence in the enterprise, and urge the early action of the Legislature.

March 21st, 1816. Mr. Van Rensselaer, from the Joint Committee of the Senate and Assembly appointed on that part of Governor Tompkins' speech, reported a Bill entitled "An Act for improving the Internal Navigation of this State;" which, having been very thoroughly debated and amended in the Senate and Assembly, became a law, April 17th, 1816; by which Stephen Van Rensselaer, DeWitt Clinton, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott and Myron Holley were appointed Commissioners, with all the necessary powers to "cause that part of the territory of this State, which may lie contiguous to the probable courses and ranges of the said canal, to be explored and examined for the purpose of determining the most eligible routes for the same;" and to "cause all surveys and levels, with accurate maps, field books and drafts thereof, to be made; and to "adopt and recommend proper plans for the construction of the said canal, and of the locks, dams, embankments, tunnels and aqueducts." This Act appropriated $20,000 to defray the expenses thereof.

February 17th, 1817. The Commissioners made an elaborate Report of the whole route, estimating the cost by sections. They had divided the whole into three parts. Mr. Geddes surveyed that part west of Seneca River; Benjamin Wright all between Seneca River and Rome, and Mr. Broadhead from Rome eastward. They had agreed upon the size of the prism of the canal, the dimensions of the locks, bridges, culverts, etc., and estimated the aggregate cost at $4,571,813, the whole distance three hundred and fifty-three miles, and the total amount of lockage, by seventy-seven locks, at 661 35-100 feet.

March 18th. Mr. Ford, from the Joint Committee of the two Houses, reported a Bill, which, with some amendments, became a law, April 15th, 1817; creating a Canal Fund, and constituting the State officers Commissioners of that Fund; with authority to borrow money, and to collect the tax on salt, on steamboat passengers, lotteries, etc., which were appropriated to that Fund, and otherwise fixing their duties as such Commissioners. This law re-appointed the same Board of Canal Commissioners, and authorized them to commence making the canal, to enter upon and take any lands, waters and streams necessary for the prosecution of the improvements intended by this Act, and to make all canals, feeders, dykes, locks, dams and other works, as they should think proper. This Act provided for the Appraisers of the damages which should be caused thereby.

This ends the legislation which provided the commencement of the work on the canal. How that was first begun and promoted was minutely described to the Club at its last meeting by my friend Colonel Young. The subsequent action of the Commissioners and of the Legislature, relating to the canal, is familiar to most of the gentlemen present, and its written history would no doubt be more interesting to them than the preceding dry details which I have been able to collect together; which I trust some gentleman more competent and better able to illustrate historical facts will volunteer to produce.

EXTRACTS FROM
THE VANDERKEMP PAPERS.

FROM THE HUDSON TO LAKE ONTARIO IN 1792.

BY FRANCIS ADRIAN VANDERKEMP, LL. D.*

KINGSTON, 13 July, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR!—You desire, then, with such ardour, to be informed of my opinion, in regard to the settlements on the North Western parts of our State, that I will not delay one moment longer to gratify you with all the information, which I possess on this momentous subject, although I deem it superficial. I shall join to it a concise diary of my excursion to that district. In this I have consulted your wishes with those of other friends here and at the other side of the Atlantic. Could I now adorn this journal with the embellishments of our new and adopted language, and make it as interesting as Moore's Travels, my labour should be well rewarded; but trusting on your indulgence, and knowing, that even a faint glimmering is desirable, where we are surrounded with darkness, I wave to make any further apology

* In letters to Col. Adam G. Mappa. See Editor's note at the close.

The period, perhaps, in which you may judge, that you shall promote the interests of your family, by transplanting it from your delightful residence on the second River to the western wilderness, is not far distance. Perhaps the vivid sense of duty and the prospect of future advantages may spurr you, to follow the steps of a friend, who, tossed by various cases disgusted with the battle of public life, and longing to enjoy retirement, and securing to his Children a permanent tranquil abode, searched for an asylum in that part of our State, to which he should have been lured by the delightful scenery of that Country —by its fertility and the exuberant treasures of its Lakes and rivers, could he have induced two or three congenial families to share in this enterprize. Every interesting point which I communicated to you two years past, when I made a trip to the western branch of the Delaware, shall now appear to you in a new light and my fanciful description, as thou was pleased to caricature it, naked truth: while it shall contribute in its turn, to place beyond doubt the continually increasing grandeur and incalculable power at which this State—within a few years—must arrive with gigantic strides, if wisdom directs the steps of its chil [dren] and convince you, that its western and Northwestern parts, are to be regarded as the main springs of its opulence and grandeur,

Do not expect, my Dear Sir! that I can spread glowing colours on the scenery, although I was often fascinated by it. Do not look for a picturesque description; do not search for artful exertions to cover the nakedness of the land: No—This country does not want such auxiliaries. A simple diary—a dry account of the soil and trees—an incorrect list of the finned tribe in the western waters, viz, the few we could catch, comprehends the extent to which I can engage myself. I wish to convince you: I spurn to take you by surprise. Did I even write in behalf of the Public, then yet I should only exert myself, to express that with energy, which I so lively felt, and my uncouth language would be persuading would extort the wish from an European

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bosom—ah! could I secure a residence in that happy country! would compel the opulent miser, to collect his musty Dollars, and exchange these for some thousand acres of that wild land. Yes, my Dear! I am convinced, that half a dozen wealthy Dutch families, with a dozen substantial, industrious farmers and expert fishing men, seconded by one hundred Yankees might render in a few years, this country the envied spot to the oldest and best cultivated parts of the thirteen States.

The increasing prosperity of our State strikes the eye of shortsighted indolence: the foreigner admires our aff[l]uence, and our neighbor, the frugal industrious Pennsylvanian should ardently wish, that he could transplant the advantages of New-York State to his own soil. Now, he often reluctantly leaves it, and becomes here indebted for a great part to Nature, which he owed before to his prudent State Administration.

I acknowledge my Dear Sir, that our State constitution is—upon the whole—well organised, and the eagle-ey'd friend of Liberty discovers only here and there a flaw, which might be altered—might be amended—but which nevertheless cannot obstruct, cannot disembogue our prosperity through another channel.

Penn-sylvania's industry—Pennsylvania's progress in agriculture—in arts and sciences, Penn-sylvania's encouragements to cultivate their wild Lands have roused the New-Yorkers from their profound sleep—and—perhaps—were a spurr to our public councils, to press their steps. Already a beginning is made of opening roads to the west,—the streams are covered with bridges—and rewards are offered to encourage agriculture, and elevate the natural productions of the soil to the highest possible perfection. The Bee-hive of New-England is opened—and—although our flowery fields may allure many drones in the beginning—who even are beneficial in many respects Myriads of that enlightened active race shall ere long be amalgamed with the old settlers. It may retard awhile the forming of our natural Character; it must enhance it, in other respects. It

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shall blend the virtues, soften the harsh and too much protuberant features of the one and the other, and bring forward, under God's blessing a virtuous independent, lofty Nation.

Unincumbered with debts—what is more, a creditor of the United States, That of New-York can advance to its industrious citizens thousands of £, and acquits itself actually of this parental charge in a generous manner. It possesses nevertheless an immense surplus to bestow on its daily expenditures, in the digging of canals, clearing the creeks, and erecting sluices, without burthening its Inhabitants with taxes, trifling ones excepted for the benefit of the individual Counties.

Our commerce is increasing daily—our merchantmen cross every sea—our flag is treated with respect in the Indies, while those of the Pacific Ocean have become acquainted with the thirteen stripes; so that you may assert with full truth, what Cæsar did of Pompey's armies, and the navy—by which his secours were cut of[f]—, that no wind can blow or it favours some of our vessels. The balance of trade inclines more and more: the exchange shall ere long be generally in our advantage: the credit of our paper-money, which in 1788 could not be exchanged for Cash under 7 pC. is restored, and placed on a par with hard Dollars. Ere long—if prudence continues to direct the helm, if the Nation becomes not to[o] soon intoxicated by its prosperity, if certain advantages are not sacrificed to visionary possibilities, we shall be the carriers of the world—at least come in for a full share with the Brittish and the Dutch. The manufactures are encouraged more and more, and increase in numbers and perfection, and must do so, at least for home consumption: the only thing yet wanting is a yet more copious population than that which is already an object of surprise, while in this peculiar branch of a Nation's wealth the wise Politician will not grasp at a shadow to loose reality in possession.

You know me too well, to suppose, that I should underrate the value of Manufactures. No Sir! I am too deeply pene-

trated of the immense prize which this boon is worth, as soon it is attainable—but I do not look out for that period, as long we possess thousands of millions of acres, good for tillage—as long our population is not proportioned to this immense territory—as long the wages are so high, which is an unavoidable clog—as long every industrious man can become the Lord of the soil, can become independent, as long the foreign market can afford to send us supplies—even in our own vessels—at a lower rate and of a superior quality than what we can manufacture.

It is quite another thing, my Dear Sir! that the wealthy Patriot generously devotes a small share of his patrimony to their encouragement and improvement, so that in time of need, we may supply our wants, even if all the parts of the world were shut before us, and another thing to risk imprudently his all to prop a chimerical theory. It is quite another thing to use and encourage these means, to support the widow, the orphan the indigent in the neighbourhood and suburbs of the large cities, than to lure the rugged child of the field to the loom to the forge and glass-house and persuade the robust youth, that he is no more free behind his plow or harrow, or when he shoulders his axe for the woods than under the eye and control of the tax-masters of the voluntary work-house. Agriculture is under God's blessing our tutelar genius, and as long she goes hand in hand with commerce, as long both are encouraged and flourish and prosper, as long the gifts of a bountiful God are showered upon us with such a rich profusion, I care not—no—let me say more truly, I do not envy, that other Nations share in his blessings which are not yet adapted to our present situation.

As soon our treaty of commerce with Great Brittain shall be concluded—then the bond of union between the Brethren shall be consolidated, and the prayers and praises in Both Countries shall ascend to heaven. The Western Forts, so long witheld, shall then be surrendered, and the commerce of our State

receive nourishment from hitherto forbidden springs. The State of New-York indeed, though not aiming at dominion over the Sister States, possesses so many high prerogatives, that she may claim to be at par with the proudest, and if she does not imperiously pretend the Preseance, would humble herself too low, could she stoop to carry the train of her fairest sister.

Our situation alone, if the products of the country were less valuable, would secure to this State an eminent show in our National commerce with the Atlantic Ocean to the south, the Lakes Champlain, St. George, Ontario, Erie, with the river St. Lawrence to the North, with Canada in our rear, New-England and the Jerseys to cover our sides, the State seems rather to have been fashioned according to the modern system of *arrondissement* than will by Nature, and yet the conqueror's sword did not give us one inch. It is our paternal Inheritance. The produce of a part of the Jerseys—of a vast deal of New-Hampshire, Connecticut—the back parts of Massachusetts with the State of Vermont do find our emporium of New-York, the most desirable, advantageous market.

Our inland navigation, superior to that of many, equal already to the best watered States of the union, contributes greatly to the increase of our commerce. The North, or beautiful Hudson's River, which the Brittish, during our past unnatural war, considered as the line of health, in proportion that they approached to, or retreated from its borders, navigable to large vessels to Hudson, 130 miles above New-York, with sloops of from eighty ton and more to Albany—165—and many miles more high with Bateaux and small rafts: this majestic river receives, besides numerous rivulets, more or less navigable, above Albany at the Cohoes—a cascade of 67 feet, the Mohawk river, meandering thro' fertile fields, from where he originates to the north of Fort Stanwix. It was here, that in former days, —before our late happy revolution, the Mohawk Indians resided from whom it mutuated his name.

Although the Mohawk becomes navigable for Bateaux at

no great distance from the Cohoes; all merchandise nevertheless is thus far carried by waggons from Albany to Schenectadi —from whence these are convey'd in Bateaux about one hundred miles, including one mile portage at the Little Falls, to Fort Stanwix.* Here is a carrying place of half a mile to the wood creek which empties its water, after it is joined by the fish-creek, in the Oneyda Lake, as handsome, as rich in fish as any lake in the western world. Above fort Brewerton its waters disembogue through the Onondaga and Oswego Rivers in Lake Ontario, paying all their homage through the St. Lawrence to the Atlantic Ocean.

Our Government, I am informed, has passed a Law to clear the navigation from the Mohawk to the Hudson. If this is not correct, then it is a prognostication, what it shall, what it ought to do at a future time. So much is certain, that it is resolved, to open the carrying place between the Mohawk and the wood-creek, and to clear the latter from many obstructions. Several thousand £ have already been consecrated by the Legislature to this salutary undertaking, while subscriptions for the *deficit* have been opened in Albany and New York, with such a success, that they were filled in a few days. See here then, my Dear Sir! an easy communication by water-carriage opened between the most distant parts of this extensive commonwealth: See the markets of New-York, Albany and Schenectadi glutted with the produce of the west, and the comforts of the South distributed with a liberal hand among the agricultures of this new country. The fur trade begins already to revive, shall ere long recover her former vigour, when the western Forts are surrendered; and, if it remains shared as it naturally must, by the North-Western company, this seeming loss shall be fully compensated from other branches, grafted in the wants and interests of the Canadians. But this is not all sir! It is rather the breaking out of the sunshine thro' a morning fog in a charming summer day. Fort Stanwix must become a Staple-place of the commodities of the west, stored there from the fertile lands,

bordering the lakes and rivers—and Old fort Schuyler nearly the central part of intercourse between the North and West, transformed in an opulent mercantile city—where future Lorenzo's will foster and protect arts and sciences—where the tomahawk and scalping knife shall be replaced by the scissel and pencil of the artist, and the wigwam by marble palaces. Do not think, that's dream Sir!

———-Tutto
Si puo, quando si vuole.

Our canals at the Falls, at fort Stanwix open an early communication between the lakes Ontario and Oneyda, which *is* possible, and *can* thus be executed, and a large part of the work is peracted. Go on then, and dig canals through the western Destrict, and be not afraid "that a single hair shall be hurt on the head of its inhabitants by the waves of lake Erie." Dare only to undertake the enterprize, and I warrant the success,—or—do you deem it a more arduous undertaking as the canal of Languedoc? and this was performed: Do not answer, I beg you,—this was the work of the *Grand Monarque:* Have you forgotten the river the Yssel—the *fossa Drusiana?* this was the work of a Roman General and his army—and are we not, do we not pretend at least to be the most enlightened Nation on the globe? Should then a Republican Government—rich in men and in wealth shrink to accomplish, what Louis XIV executed? You were more sanguine, when you did lead your Patriotic Citizens against the Prussian Myrmidons at the *Nieuwer Sluys,* and you are too candid, not to acknowledge now, that your hope of success was irretrievably past. Give me the disposal of fifty New-York purses—Give me only the credit of that city, and I shall do, what others promised in florid speeches; or—art thou apprehensive, that the spell of your enchantment shall be broken, give me the Republican wand of Cajus Popilius, and I will go to the water-nymph Erie, and trace a beautiful curve, thro' which her Ladyship shall be compelled, to pay a part of her tribute to the ocean

through the Genesee country—engaging her a courteous attendance from Lakes and creeks, to wait on Her Grace during this extorted excursion—and leaving her the consolation of the Doge of Genoa at the French court, to admire no object but herself, during her course, through our country—to the Hudson River.

Our agriculture is considerably improved, although much is yet wanted—before it can be compared to what is performed in Europe. Nine tenths of our farmers possess often double and treble the Land, than which they can or pretend to cultivate. It is a too generally prevalent system, to be rather contented with the crop, which the field spontaneously yields, than to aim at a richer harvest, obtainable by a more industrious tillage.

The example of the Pennsylvanians—the thousands of New-England men, who, flocking annually in this State, ameliorate our husbandry, improve our stock, and transform our woodlands in productive fields, the creation—and if any thing does, it deserves this name—the creation of an Agricultural Society at New-York—a similar association at Albany—the offered premiums to the largest produce of Maple-Sugar—that blessing of Heaven to the back-countries—little inferior to the Sugar-cane of the West-Indies—the encouraging acts of our Legislature, in opening new roads, and other beneficial plans, yet in embryo—all this united had altered our agriculture.

How could it be any other way, my Dear Sir! there the richness of the soil pays tenfold our industry—there the climate is temperate, mild—nearly as that in the Netherlands. The population is generally in our States—principally in New-England—in this State, peculiarly in its western parts, baffling all imagination. A marriage without issue is a rare Phenomenon—from five to nine is no unusual number of children—often a dozen and more.

The fertility of our soil, principally in the Western Destrict, where one acre often produces as much as three in any other

part of the State—our inland navigation—abundance of fish—of fuel, our well regulated State Government, maintaining every one by his religious as well as civil rights—admitting no privileged Church, nor loading an unbelieving herd with taxes for its support, lure yearly whole shoals of New-England men and Europeans to settle in this State or Pennsylvania.

Here the crops but seldom fail; the long winters so fatal in the Southern States, are here seldom injurious, as the snow remains till the earth begins to be adorned again with a fresh tapestry. Wheat, corn, oats, Barley, rye, Potatoes, with every kind of garden vegetables and orchard fruits—the water-melon —the cantaloup—the grape not excluded, arrive in the Western and often in the Northern parts of this State—to perfection.

The increasing population, the rage of speculation in land, by Americans, Dutch and Englishmen, double actually the value of the lands. An acre sold four years since, from 1 to 6 shill., is now valued at ten. I speak of woodland; cultivated farms have risen from £4 to 6, and this prize is doubled in the neighbourhood of villages.

Every family does increase the value of the adjacent uncultivated Lands, and five and twenty of the hundred farms, sold at one Dollar per acre, augment the prize of the remaining 75 to sixteen shillings, while the sale of 25 more—the soil being equal, doubles it yet four or five times.

The Western parts of this State Sir! are now generally considered, as its richest and most valuable part, which spurrs every fore-handed man, to appropriate a part of it to himself or his Children. It is nevertheless to be regretted, although this hindrance is compensated again by some great advantages, that few Individuals become owners of such immense tracts, by which, as soon they have made some flourishing establishments—they are enabled to encrease the prize of the remainder, arbitrarily—but—here too avarice betrays often the possessor. The prudent landholder blends the public interests

with his own—reaches in both his aim, becomes the benefactor of a country, which repays him with usury; is their father, who are delighted in his welfare and opulence, and obliges his country, by multiplying its useful citizens, augmenting the products of the land, and increasing the wealth of the State.

Justice requires, as I hinted the disadvantages of a few great Landholders, owning more acres of Land than many Princes and Dukes in Germany, that I mention the favorable side of this question. They open generally with enormous expenses the roads, erect mills, make liberal advances to the honest industrious settler, and make his payments easy. Besides—a few of these have resolved to settle in the wilderness and allure by their example, many respectable families, to press their steps.

All this shall, I hope, Dear Sir! convince you that the western parts of this State shall be settled within a few years—that the actual owners of the land must become independent, and that every industrious family, which invest her small property in a good farm, if it continues to exert itself must, under God's blessing, ere long be at ease and in affluence.

I am yours,

KINGSTON, 19 July, 1792.

KINGSTON, 27 July, 1792.

MY DEAR SIR!—I asserted, when I had lately the pleasure of seeing you, that I did not boast, when I assured you in my last letter, that the western counties were the best part, and would be ere long the most potent part of our State in every sense of the word:—that it can not fail, or every judicious Landholder in the western Destrict who is acquainted with the value of his lands, who knows, when he may sell, and when his interest requires to put a stop to his sales, must acquire a considerable fortune within 25 years—or—that every independent family, which makes a purchase there, and retains in reserve a surplus, to supply it in the beginning with articles of the first necessity, and smooth the ruggedness of their new career, by what the convenience and comfort of a family requires, may within six years be as much at ease, as in any other part of the State and shall be plentifully rewarded by the fruits of their labours, and secure to their children—even during the life of their parents, an independent station. I might have said—which I know could not be an inducement to you—that seats in both houses of the Legislature, offices of honour and trust, are of course allotted to men of any respectability, if this glitter has any charms in their eye.

You may recollect Sir! that when I communicated to you my excursion to the western branch of the Delaware, I informed you of some particularities, relating to the settlements of that part of our western world—which drew forth a few others with regard to Dutchess and Ulster county. These may be subservient to illustrate my assertions in favour of the west. The situation of Dutchess, now one of the most populous counties, was fifty years past not more favourable, than that of many parts of the western Destrict at present. Mr. Livingston, then Clerk of that county could scarce afford to keep a horse from the emoluments of his office, while now his annual perquisites exceed £700.

The families of Livingston, Beeckman, van Renselaer, van Cortland, Schuyler, in one word, all the powerful families of this State, merchants excepted, acquired their actual wealth and respectability by the purchase of new lands, and their judicious settlements on these. I should not have been surprised, my Dear Sir! had a certain respectable family succeeded in the purchase of Rosevelts tract, or we should have seen ere long an elegant country seat on the banks of Lake Oneyda, encircled at some distance by well cultivated farms.

You would have fostered a similar opinion, with this difference only, that it would have been generally more favorable, as you was, during the last years of your residence in Europe—better inured by fatigue than your friend, could you, as I did hope, have accompanied him on this journey.

His excellency Geo. Clinton thought so, and joined our names together in all the letters of recommendation, with which his kindness honoured me again, as he was wonted to do in former excursions.

I remained long in suspense, before I could resolve, in what manner I should undertake the expedition—either with a sloop to Albany, then with a waggon to Schenectadi and so ascend the Mohawk in a Bateau—or—with a chair to Schenectadi—or at once on horseback to fort Stanwix: ease pleaded for one of the former; my preference was given to a chair—but the impossibility to obtain one here in any way and the apprehension that the Sloop and Bateau would require a vast deal of time—more than I could have allotted to this excursion—made me at length resolve—although with reluctance—to go on horseback. Since 1773, when I asked my demission from the Dutch cavallery, I had not rode a horse, except in 1788, from Alexandria to Mount-Vernon, when I visited General Washington. Now it was a journey of nearly two hundred miles. But—I was resolved: my good neighbor provided me with a saddle, and other accoutrements of a Cavalier. I risked to take one of my own horses, and proceeded slowly on. You art acquainted

with all these parts so far as the house of the widow of Ph. Schuyler, so that I cannot communicate any thing deserving your attention. Now and then I ventured to trot a few rods, but soon permitted the horse to resume his easy pace.

About noon I had passed the *Grooten Imbogt* about twenty miles from home, went on, after dinner to Cats-kill & took tea by Mr. Bogardus at the Landing, which is indeed a very agreable spot.

The increasing population of the Western Country give birth to this little hamlet on the North-river: several merchants from New-England and this State had established themselves there; last year their number was augmented to twenty,—and this year seventeen new buildings—houses and stores—were finished. The situation is indeed delightful, on the banks of a large creek, and not far distant from the North-river—very well adapted for trading with the western country.

The soil has nothing extraordinary to recommend it,—neither was it chosen on this account by the first settlers; their views were farther extended: They did fore see, that even barren rocks, which by no means is the case, might under the vivifying influence of commerce, render these a comfortable habitation. The Inhabitants were chiefly respectable men, while the family of Mr. Bogardus peculiarly might have tempted you and me to fix our residence on that spot, could we have contemplated it, on our arrival from Europe, so as it now appears.

Towards evening I rode on to Coughsagie and stopt at the house of John Bronk, persuaded, after having travelled forty miles at the first onset, that I could accomplish my purpose. My supper was but indifferent—tea, bread and butter with a bit of warmed mutton—but, in full compensation of it the mistress of the house was very civil. Next morning I went to Albany, where I met with a cordial reception at Dr. Marcius, whose hospitality, frankness and amiable character leave you scarce time to do justice to his professional merits.

Every instant the decision of the election of a new Governour

was expected, and, as the city was pretty equally divided between the two illustrious Candidates Clinton and Jay, a painful anxiety was legible on every countenance. At eight o'clock it was known with certainty, that George Clinton was reëlected for the sixth time. The joy of his friends was more moderate, than might have been conjectured from the ardent zeal, with which they had patrocinated this high respected statesman—while the friends of Mr. Jay, spurred by the noblest motives in promoting his election with all their strength, knew too well their interests and duty to disturb it. This is the genuine spirit of Republicanism—but alas! too seldom listened to. In the morning at four o'clock the sound of the guns proclaimed the Governour's election to the neighbourhood.

On friday morning I rode on to Schenectadi where I spend a few hours with the Rev. Romeyn—one of the learned and eminent Divines of the Reformed Church in this State, beloved by his flock, respected by the most respectable in the State, as a man, a citizen and a Christian Preacher.

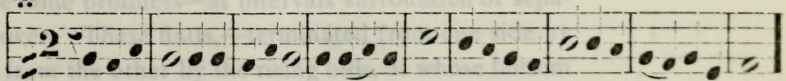
He communicated to me many important observations with regard to the soil—the stupendously increasing population of the western country with its vast increasing strength. Without Albany, without the commerce of New-York, continued he pleasantly, the South of the State might soon become an appendage to the West. With a lively extasy he expatiated on all its advantages, and give me with his usual accuracy a picturesque description of the various settlements on the Mohawk. He praised the luxuriant fields on this river—dwelled with delight on the Towns of German-flatts and Herkimer—but Schoharie he called a terrestial paradise, and described its farmers amongst the wealthiest and happiest Inhabitants of New-York State. He assured me, that 1500 families passed by his house, during the winter of 91 to various parts of the Western Lands; while I was afterwards informed by another credible witness, that, during the winter of 90—within 40 miles of this River point—where the rivers of Onondago, Seneca, and Oswego are joined,

had been counted 240 span oxen. I proceeded after dinner about twenty miles further, stopt a few moments at the ancient residence of Sir William, now occupied by Mr. Jacob Cuyler, and remained at night on Trip's hill at Mr. Putman's six miles from Cognawojha. On Saturday morning I breakfeasted at Simon Veeder's Esq rode on eight miles further to Bankert's inn, and arrived about noon at the mansion of the respectable widow of Col. Phil. Schuyler in Palatine-Town. Here I met with a cordial reception: Mrs Schuyler appeared most interested in the welfare of Mrs. v. d. k. and our John, who with us four years past had been entertained under her hospitable roof. I was again much pleased with her animated intelligent conversation and gathered more real information from a desultory discourse, than I might have received from an elaborate discussion of a Philosopher, who had never seen the country. She informed me too of the best houses on the road.

After dinner I crossed the Mohawk, three miles above Palatine-Town, & did see Canojohari—which name, although I cannot now interpret, yet I hope to have it in my power after a while. You recollect that sample of a Canadian song

Cani de *jouve*, cani de jouve, He He He, He ho
heura heura on ce be*

In the *Diction: de Musique.* If you can explain this, you too may give the Etymology of this place. After a ride of seven miles farther, I tarried at a *ci-devant* Indian castle, now a very recommendable inn, kept by Mr. Hudzon, to drink a dish of superior good tea. It was my design to proceed to Herkemer, as I was informed, that I was to meet there a good reception—but—my good horse was scarce able to lift one foot before the



Cani de jou-ve can-i de jou-ve He-He-He, He-Ho Heu-ra heu-ra on ce be

other. Consider further,—that this good beast—by often going and returning, to examine one or other object a little more carefully—by allways pacing even on the roughest road, was thoroughly fatigued—that the sun was set—that I was ignorant of the road, and—as you would say, not much to be trusted where I knew it—and that above this all Cap[t] Bellinger, the Landlord of a homely tavern endeavoured to persuade me, that I ought to stay with him—because he said—the horse could not proceed further, that tomorrow, if he might now recruit, it would make it up with a double speed, and then reflecting, that the Cavalier lounged for rest as much as his beast —you can not be surprised that your friend yielded so soon to the urgent entreaties of that noble captain. My supper was not above mediocrity, my bed and sleep of the first rate. The hope of repairing my loss of the evening by a good breakfeast made me stirr early, so that I arrived at eight at Mr. Aldritz—in former days another Indian castle.

The respectable appearance of the Landlord and his Lady; their dress, countenance, manners, language, the furniture, the neatness of the house, the order and promptitude, with which the commands were executed, soon convinced me, that my conjecture would not dwindle away in a airy vision. Good bread and butter, excellent tea, fresh eggs, with a dish of Salmon Trout,—a sort of European Forel,—worthy to be presented to the best men in the State, were more than sufficient to satisfy a craving hunger.

Now was I in Herkimer—crossed again the Mohawk, paced slowly through the German Flatts—a beautiful plain, whose rich fertility must strike even the inattentive eye, from the charming fields covered with all sorts of grain: here wheat, corn, potatoes, there oats, peas, barley, there again another variety of the same products—at intervals surrounded or separated with clover. These flatts,—terminated from one side by the Mohawk from the other by the rising hills, at whose bottom the farm houses and churches were constructed—maintain

many thousands descendents of native Germans, who searching a refuge from infatuated despotism in this Land of Liberty, have chiefly preserved the manners, language and religion of their ancestors. The same is true, with regard to their neighbours in German-town and Herkimer—all of German origine, somewhat tempered with Brittish, Dutch and American blood.

Col. Staringh was the man, by whom I intended to dine, if it was obtainable. Although his Honour was at the same time a Judge of the Common-pleas—thus high in civil and military grandeur—yet he kept a public house, and my imagination was soon highly inflamed, when I glanced at his mansion and its appurtenances. The Colonel was gone to the meeting; his barn was the place of worship. I went thither; the assembled congregation was very numerous: our Lord's Supper was celebrated with decency, and, as it appeared to me, by many with fervent devotion. Four children were baptised by the Rev. Rozenkrantz of the German-Flatts, who made this pastoral visit, to direct these religious solemnities. After service the flock crowded promiscuously in the Colonel's house, and used sparingly some refreshments. The large majority gloried at the renewed election of George Clinton, while the weighty principle of many was "Now certainly the courthouse should be fixed there, as they had generally given their votes for George, while very many on the German-Flatts, with the same motive —with the same hope had been lured to vote for John Jay. So wantonly plays the multitude with that for every free-man so precious privilege of election: for travelling a mile more or less—yea for thousand times more pityful, if not for more contemptible motives is nominal liberty transformed in actual slavery. I cannot see it or I bewail the general state of mankind! How divine is the theory! how different, how unattainable nearly the solid practice of a pure popular Government, except among a poor, vertuous, within its rocks limity [limited?] family of brothers as in Switserland. We, my Dear Sir! paid dearly for our visionary schemes of perfection—and I do not

yet regret it, as we found here Liberty blended by Laws, and so much Aristocracy rendered constitutional, that neither the one nor the many can do wrong—for a long time, and so much Democracy saved, as to keep the remainder from degenerating and degrading herself; while I deem him a miscreant, who abuses this good by name, to spread a cloak over his nefarious ambitious views—till he sees the road open to crush the few and the many together. May Adams Defence become a general School-book, and his lessons brought in practice.

The presence of the Rev. Pastor—the solemnity of the sacred festival—the presence of the Fathers of the baptised children—some of them related to the colonel, procured me a good dinner. A very good Soup—Salade roasted Chickens —beef and pork—with bread and butter were soon destroy'd by 15 or 16 hungry guests. The Rever. Rosekrantz was born in the Dutchy of the Paltz-Tweebruggen, from a respectable family of Swedish origine. Endowed with a learned education he was not a stranger in elegant literature—a serious preacher who knew the art to enliven Society with a well regulated hilarity.

At nine miles distance, near old fort Schuyler I crossed the Mohawk-river for the last time—took my tea at Mr. John Post, reached Whites-borough about evening, and stopt at the house of Judge White, the Father of this flourishing settlement; to whom and Mr. Jonas Platt his Exc. Geo. Clinton had favoured me with Letters of introduction.

I met on the road to Whites-borough, a group of Oneyda Indians—some of them on horseback, others walking and jumping—the one with a bottle, another with a jug or small keg with rum—for the most part merrily jolly—some deeply soaked by the beverage, distilled from the cane. Their numbers increased in proportion I approached nearer Whitesborough. There I saw about two hundred of every age and of both sexes around their fires near the road, eating, drinking, smoking, singhing, laughing, all then in perfect harmony together, though

many a little before had tried their strenght and agility upon one another.

The occasion of this unusual concours was, that they came, to receive the corn from the State, which had been stipulated in one of the articles of the late Treaty. But they soon changed this corn certainly for a large part, by the merchants for money, which they changed again for chintzes, silk hankerchiefs, linen &c.

How longer and oftener I contemplate these Indian tribes, how more I am confirmed in my conjecture, which was supported by Buffon "that the Northerly Inhabitants of America, as well as a large part of those in the South, are *chiefly*, have the blood of Tartar origine in their veins. By this I will not say, that none of the offspring of the Aborigines of this country are remaining—neither that the Inhabitants of some parts *may* not be the offspring of savage tribes, driven before these Tartarian Hordes from their native scenes on the confines of the North-eastern Asiatic shores—no more, as I would contest, that a few Islanders, even Norwegians might have been induced or compelled to settle on the Northern parts of the American continent. Manners, language, features render it rather plausible; but to conclude for these reasons with Grotius—that stupendous wonder of learning, of whom might be asserted, what Licias said of Cato "that his intellectual endowments were so extensive, that he excelled in whatever he undertook, and seemed to devot himself exclusively to that science" that our country was colonized by Norwegians, and extort arguments from Etymology—you might as well derive *Alfana* from *Equus*.*

Michaelis may convince you that the ten tribes could not have searched here an asylum, and I dare assert, that—had this

Alfana vient d'*Equus*; sans doute
Mais, il faut avouer aussi
qui, on venant de la jusqu icy
Il a bien change sur la route
P. Bouhours Man. de bien penser
Dial. ii Pag. 175.

hypothesis been based on a solid foundation—there would yet exist uncontrovertable proofs. Perhaps I may glance at this topic at some future day and then you will judge—with what success.

I dout not, my Dear Mappa! or I shall convince you, of the plausibility of this cherished hypothesis, when I have time to collect my arguments, as the Chancellor Livingston desired, and put these in battle array, among my Philos. Res. on the theories of Buffon and Jefferson—and, if then I may be so successful, to render it probable that the Gauls—the Franks—the Celts, originated all from the same immensely prolific bee-hive, *then* nothing is wanting but correct Genealogical tables to prove to the first fair Squaw—and there are handsome ones indeed—if you make some small allowances—that we are distant cousins.

The greatest part of the Indians whom I have seen, are tall and robust, with strong well shaped limbs, broad foreheads, the nose somewhat curved, the ears long and broad, deformed by art.

Several of the Oneydas speak the English language very correctly, as I am informed, and many too write it. Peter Otzagert, who, delegated to congress, died this year on his journey, had been for some time in France with the Marquis La Fayette, was, in some respects, highly cultivated, and master of the French language and politeness, although it was doubted if his heart was as improved as his head, at least, he has been accused, that he did learn to blend the vices of the savages with those of a polished nation. So true it appears with regard to those unhappy tribes, that if their Fathers did eat sour grapes, their children's teeth have become dull indeed, and it may be justly questioned, if the vicinity of their white neighbors is to them not rather a curse than a blessing. How contrary is this with the genuine spirit of Christianity! but, what chemical operation is powerful enough, to extract it from Indian Traders, and straggling borderers! Captain Jacob

Reed speaks and writes with tolerable accuracy, shews a bold and courageous appearance and dresses as a white man, but now too, I delineated his chief worth. Beach-tree, their chief, had the greatest influence over them.

The cradles of their babes are of a curious workmanship, often lined with silver plates, ornamented with silver-rings, and wrapt in sillk. Their principal merchandise are furrs, with whose value they are thoroughly acquainted. The principal are those of Beavers (Fishers) Hespans [?], or Racoons, Martins, Musk-rats, Minks, Beavers and Deer-skins.

Judge White was commissioned, to distribute among them the stipulated grain. He is a man, between 50 and 60 years of age, of middle stature, corpulent, and of a comely appearance. He enjoys now that exquisite gratification of being the *Creator of his own fortune*, and placing all his children in an independent situation. Judge White resided in Connecticut in the year 1785. He made a journey to the Western parts of this State, made a purchase of the land, he now lives on; moved thither in 1786 with his five sons, build a loghouse and barn; went the next year for his wife and remaining children, although there was not at that time one single white man in the nine miles around him. In 1788 he constructed a saw and gristmill, possessed in the 4th year, all which he wanted for his convenience, ease and comfort in abundance, build in the fifth year a convenient frame house and substantial barn, and is now encircled by a number of respectable families—amongst these two of his married sons, and Mr. Jonas Platt, son of Judge Zephaniah Platt—married with Miss H. Livingston—a sister of that eminent Divine in N. York—who yet recollects with a grateful remembrance the time he spent at the Dutch Universities.

I deem the acquaintance of this young man a real acquisition, for which I am again indebted to our friend G. Clinton. I have often indeed been surprised with admiration at his knowledge of men, which is a distinguishing trait of his charac-

ter—and, in my opinion, one of the chief means of his Political success. His Exc: had a high opinion of young Platt, and spoke of him in the most flattering terms. This prompted me to observe him, and I was not disappointed. The little intercourse I could enjoy with Mrs. Platt, both being then in a state of anxiety about their only infant, which, in my opinion shall never recover, prompts me to say little about her, except, that I was highly pleased with her courteous and kind reception. I am persuaded, I could not do Her full justice. It is quite otherwise with her Husband. I presume to say, I knew him, how short our intercourse was, and dare assure, that if ever thou art favoured with a similar opportunity, you will love and respect Him. So much ingenuity and modesty without bashfulness—so much frankness and candour without boasting —*vanterie*, such obliging manners without importunely obtruding his civilities, such a comprehensive mind, such an intuitive solid judgment, all this combined shewed him the man, who sooner or later must become the pride of the barr, the glory of the Bench and a chief ornament of our state, so that I really consider the pitiful pittance of his present clerq-ship not as a reward, but a temporary station, in which he is to hoard up intellectual treasures, to develop these unexpectedly before his fellow-citizens, and prepare a most delicious repast by his achievements for his aged and Revered Patron.

The society here is already pleasing; so is the situation of this little village, more adapted for the enjoyment of rural retirement, than luring in a commercial point of view. The houses are more build for convenience than for show: the roads are daily improving, of which you may form a partial opinion from the fact, that while I was here, Mr and Mrs Livingston came in their own carriage in four days from Poughkeep to Whitesborough.

That I do not exaggerate, to render you enamoured with this charming country, one proof shall be sufficient. By the last census the number of souls in Whites-town was 5788—a stu-

pendous number indeed within the small circle of five years. In Whites-borough self there is scarce an acre for sale. Dr Mosely paid for three acres, for a building spot £50 per acre.

The soil is a fertile rich loam—from 30 to 45 Bushels Indian corn per acre is an ordinary crop; often it gives 50, 60 and more. In some parts by long droughts the soil is apt to bake and rent, and require thus more labour, shall it be cultivated with propriety and success. One of your Zeeland farmers would not consider this as a formidable objection, well knowing that his exertions should be doubly compensated. There are here nevertheless, some too, who are willing to reap, but not in the sweat of their brow.

The article of fish is scarce, the firewood has already become an object of so much importance that it is saved, and sold to advantage, and salt cannot be obtained below a Dollar the bushel.

I crossed about two miles from Whites borough the Oriskany-creek, where many of the Oneyda Indians resided in former days. The actual proprietors of the soil did long decline the sale—the prize was yet too low—at lenght it hath rizen to their pitch; several farms have already been taken up, and the woods resounded, when I passed there, from the strokes of the hardy Axe-men. One year more, and the one farm shall be joined to the other as here on the *Esopus-kill*.

I had only advanced a few steps, when my attention was fixed on a number of skulls, placed in a row on a log in the road. I was informed by the work-men, that this place was the fatal spot, on which the murderous encounter happened between General Herkemer with his sturdy associates, and the Indians, when this brave and gallant soldier did fall with a number of his men. He shewed me a large tree, on which was coarsely carved something resembling a man's head, which should represent this intrepid Warrior.

On Monday about noon I arrived at Fort Stanwix. The Baron De Zeng, industriously employed in laying out a kitchen-

garden, had already seen me, and give me a cordial wel-come. He then introduced me to Col. Colbreath, a revolutionary soldier, who priding himself in the patronage of his old general, resided on a part of the estate, which the Governour possessed in this neighborhood. He had offered the Baron a part of his house, till that of De Zeng should be cleared of its present Inhabitants. We partook of some refreshments—my horse was brought on a luxuriant pasture ground.

See there me, my Dear Sir! at the famous Fort Stanwix, where Ganzevoort baffled the impetuous ardour of the Brittish, and Col. Willet eluded their vigilance. See here me in the centre of New-York State—the elevated spot, from where the waters are flowing, to the East and the West—chalked out, as it were, by nature, to become the seat of Government of this mighty State, while fort Schuyler must gradually rise to the rank of the emporium of the west. *Here* is the ear tingling from the bustle of business, while the opulence and wealth is through various channels conducted to this great reservoir, to repay the Inhabitants of its neighborhood with those of the remotest North and west with ease and comfort—there magnificent buildings raised, and a seat prepared for arts and sciences.

The Baron de Zeng, a German Nobleman, descends from a noble family in Saxony, and arrived in America during the revolutionary war. He was married to a respectable Lady in New-York, and did now intend to begin a settlement in this vicinity. He had engaged to accompany me on this tour, and I expected, as I really experienced, that he not only should be an agreeable companion, but very useful to me in many respects.

The Baron was so kind, to charge himself to purchase a grand canoe, engage two servants and procure the required provisions for our voyage. As he had before roved through this wilderness, he knew best, what was wanting to lessen the hardships of a similar enterprize ; and I must do him the justice, that he left nothing untried to procure every article, which might make our journey more agreable. A well made tent

with a good carpet stood foremost on the list, and his spouse took care, that a sufficient quantity of bread and biscuit was prepared. While all this was brought in readiness, I had the satisfaction to explore the country, to examine the woods with the contemplated state for the canal, to join the Mohawk with the wood-creek, and convince myself of its easy practicability. But this is only the dwarf, fixing his eyes upward to the gigantic canal, yet in embryo. The soil differs little from that of Whitestown, except the summit of the Highland, on which the Fort is erected, generally not less fertile, often too rich for wheat, as the first crop—not free from baking, several feet deep of the same unadulterated fertile mould as the uppermost layer. By digging 10 and 12 feet, often deeper, leaves perfectly preserved—branches of trees—large pieces of timber are discovered. I did see several samples of all these, when a well was dug for Col. Colbreath. Elm, Ash, beach, heavy oak and wall-nut are in the upper part, on the lower ground chiefly beach, maple and birch. As no apparent obstruction is visible, the canal may be executed nearly in a straight line.

Scarce a day passed, in which not two sometimes three Bateaux arrived, whose destination was towards the Genesee-Lands—Onondago, Cadaraqui or other parts of the Western Destrict: we met daily with groups of five or six men on horse back, in search for land, with intention, if succeeding, to move on with their families the next winter or following spring, while every day one or other accosted us to purchase lands, of which we did not own one single inch.

During the time I tarried here, a large Bateau with furs arrived from the west: two yoke of oxen carried it over the portage. This was the second cargo within one week. It may be conjectured from this single example, what riches the waters of Oneyda-Lake may carry on to Fort Stanwix, if every obstruction shall be removed. Now it makes a fortune to Individuals, then it shall become as productive to the Nation as a Gold-mine.

We waited another day, in the hope of a few refreshments,

which I had procured at Schenectadi—but at length our patience being exhausted, although De-Zeng was possessed of a deep fund of it, nearly equal to that of your friend! we walked on Saturday towards the wood-creek—see our baggage stowed—stept in the canoe, and pushed off.

Do you recollect Mappa! how Remus vexed his brother Romulus, by springing over the ditches, with which he had encircled the future mistress of the world? here certainly might he have endulged his whim with less perill. No Oneyda Indian, no valiant American would have considered his country insulted by this prowess. The wood-creek indeed resembles at the landing place rather an insignificant ditch than well a navigable stream. Ere long it is, nevertheless, enlarged, and resembles very much the numberless inland waters, by which our *ci-devant* Father Land was intersected. We arrived at the distance of three miles at Fort Bull—or rather at the place, on which during the war a Fort of that name was erected. The same fact I found often verified, on places designated by names originating from fortifications constructed during the late French, or the Revolutionary wars.

As we indulged ourselves from time to time in angling, we hooked a few trout and several large chubs, without reflecting, that the sun was setting, our lusty boys waded continually, to drag our deeply loaded canoe over rifts and shoals. At once the air was darkened, which was rendered of a deeper hue by the streams of lightning, with which it was on a sudden as embroidered: severe peals of thunder re-echoed through the woods, and the increasing darkness became now visible. The boys were discouraged; De Zeng sprung at once out the canoe, and inspired them with fresh courage, and your friend? I trusted in their experience, and hoped their trial would be a short one, and then they might rest from their labours—while the Baron ought to pay some prize, of not possessing his soul in equal patience.

Now we proceeded quickly and discovered after a few min-

utes a light in a small cottage. It was that of the widow Armstrong, on the corner of the wood and Canada-creek, seven miles from Fort Stanwix—the point of land, where Roseveld's purchase begins, with which you and some of my best friends desire to become acquainted, and which, if I am not mistaken and disappointed in my wishes, may become a goodly heritage, under God's Almighty blessing for us and our children.

As we are now engaged in drying our clothes by a good fire, and Mrs Armstrong is preparing our supper and couches, I must allow you a little rest, before I offer you my rough sketch of the skirts of that noble tract, once the heritage of the Oneidas, now the object of ardent loungings of Americans and Foreigners, who by every licet and illicet means by extravagant praises and unfounded slanders, endeavour to secure this possession to themselves, while some squatters have fixed themselves here and there on its borders, a tract, which in population and wealth must vie in time with any part of the Western Destrict.

I am

Yours sincerely,

KINGSTON 1 Aug. 1792.

MY DEAR SIR! You followed our steps Sir? through the meandering wood-creek to the spot, where the Canada creek empties in it—the residence of Mrs Armstrong, thus far the hospitable Patroness of that insulated spot. I really hope, my Dear Sir! that you may have been able to keep your attention awake, otherwise it must become a more than Herculean labour to drive the sleep from your eyes by a dry topographical description. I really am apprehensive, that the wish of getting rich by the purchase of a few hundred thousand acres of this land cannot make a sufficiently deep impression on your disinterestedness, even if your purse was in unison with such a wish. I hope at all events it shall not exceed a slumbering, not heavier than mine on horse-back, awakening the instant, when I was leaning halfways from the saddle; and in that case I am not without hope, or the fall of an heavy oak, the report of our guns—our crys of joy on a catched prey of fish or deer, the lamentations and curses of our crew and every real or imaginary danger shall break of [f] the spell of the enchantment of some fair or malignant sorceress, and permit you to contemplate the Feen-Residence of the beautiful Oneyda Lake with admiration.

It is a general observation with regard to this world, and I am yet wavering to decide, if the name of New or old is the most appropriate, that the most barren tracts are every where near the sea-coast—that the most populous part of the fifteen states, which have been settled in the beginning cannot be compared with the extensive fertile fields of the West, and that their natural productiveness and riches are increasing in proportion, that you penetrate deeper in the interior. Every traveller confirms this truth; and every new settlement affords so many incontestible proofs from the unusual produce of the fields as well, as by the sudden increase of the lands, to confirm these reports.

No man dared yet to contest this truth, except a few German Inhabitants on the rich borders of the Mohawk before the revolutionary war, believing—in which they were confirmed by the cunning artifices of their great Landholders and crafty Politicians, that their Paradis was surrounded by unsurmountable barriers—being no habitable spot above Canajohari—impenetrable except by a savage's foot, except by Brittish Canadians, who dreaded the neighborship of Americans—except Land-jobbers, aiming at a cheap purchase by artfully undervaluing the Land.

The tract, with which I would make you better acquainted, was purchased two years past from the Six Nations, and begins at the wood-creek, where that of the Canada creek joins it. It has to the North-East Funda's purchase, to the South and South west the Oneyda reservation—the military lands, now beginning to be settled, to the North west Lake Ontario—to the North the great Salmon-creek, from which it touches again Funda's purchase, in a North Eastern course. See here then the rough circumference of 6 or 700,000 acres. Consider my Dear Sir! if I might err somewhat in a due course, and take the east for the west, that I am yet in the infancy of my geological expedition—and am ready to say *Peccavi Pater!* not however in that bewitching tune, I heard you sing—"*Mon pere, je devient vant vous*—To prevent gross mistakes, and secure you of forming an erroneous opinion of my statements I send you with this a pretty correct map, which, with the assistance of that of Geo. Pownall may learn you in how far I was successful.

A simple statement of course is sufficient to lay open the water-communication with all the circumjacent lands:—By the Wood-creek to the Mohawk eastward—and so on to the North-River through the Seneca River—South west of the Oneyda Lake—to the Genesee Lands, whose settlements are daily increasing, through the Onondago and Oswego Rivers in Lake Ontario, through the St. Laurens and the North-River

in the Ocean. Consider now further Sir! that the distance of Fort Brewerton, at the West—and of Oneyda-Lake, near the mouth of the Onondago River is in a straight line, only eight miles from the little Salmon-creek, and 12 from the great, two principal landing places on Lake Ontario and the distance from the centre of the Lake near Bruce's creek is in a straight course no more than 12 miles to the same spot. The land is there not much broken, with few stones or rocks, so that few hands, as soon the trees are chopt, might make a tolerable good road from the one Lake to the other. This Land-carriage is of a vast additional value; but no man can have seen the shape of the land, and examined the Salmon-creek from Lake Ontario and Bruce's creek from Oneyda Lake in their courses, and doubt yet the high probability of a water communication, of a short distance, between these two lakes. Join to all this—and this my Dear Sir! is an encouraging observation, that the circumjacent tracts as the Genesee Lands, to the South, Funda's—Steuben Oothout's patent are already partially settled, and continue to increase in Inhabitants, while the lots in the Military Lands are increasing daily in value.

Is this not already a great deal, my friend? I know, you consider it from this point of view, and art already anticipating the time, that Stores and Magazines villages and country-seats are adorning the borders of Oneyda-Lake—and yet, how great this is, it is not all. Throw, I beg you, for a moment, a cursory glance on the situation of this tract. I ought to have said:—*come and see* and believe.

Towards the South you have Oneyda Lake, that of Ontario to the north, both joined by the Onondago and Oswego-Rivers, and in these disembogue, besides a number of smaller creeks, the wood-creek, the Oneyda-creek, the Canada-creek, the fish-creek, the little fish-creek the black-creek, Bruce's creek, the large and smaller Salmon river—and, what we called, the fresh lobster-creek from the numbers we catched here of this delicious crustaceous fish, even superior to the Sea-lobster, and as

exquisite a dainty as those in Guelderland and the Dutchy of Cleres—which afford there such a sumptuous and palatable dish to the modern descendant of Apicius.

Both Salmon Rivers, emptying into Lake Ontario to the North of this tract of land, and the Fish-creek in Oneyda Lake are in the spring and fall [full] of Salmon. You may form of this assertion, a pretty accurate opinion after I have informed you, that one Oneyda Indian took with his Spear 45 Salmons within an hour; another, in the presence of Cap[t] Simonds 65 during one night, and another 80. They are equal to the best, which are catched in the rivers the Rhine and the Meuze, and might, if the time of fishing was limited by the Legislature, and, what is more, its Laws *punctually* obey'd and executed with vigour, become as beneficial to our country at large, as the Salmon fishery of the Meuze in Holland, from which the East and West-Indies are supplied with this luxurious fish. Was the method of catching the Salmon in fuyks and smoaking these introduced, as I advised several, with the offer of initiating them in this mystery Oneyda Lake with its tributary streams might supply an abundant Provision, for all the States the West-Indian market, that of South-America included—Persuaded of this truth, I wrote to our Dutch friends and obtained through my old Hon. friend D. Herbach from a mercantile house at Schoonhoven, the staple place as you know of this commodity an accurate description of the mode of catching—curing—smoaking—through the whole progress, and offered its communication to Mr. Stevens at Fort Brewerton and others, but—it was not accepted—too much trouble! too distant! too uncertain the prospect of gain! no control over the Indian Brethren! no encouragement by the Legislature! I do nevertheless not yet despair, or a happier period shall arrive—

The eel of the Oneyda Lake is equal to the best of the Holland market and far surpasses every kind, which I have ever tasted here, in size, in fatness in tenderness of the fish. The Salmon river possesses besides this plenty fulness of the finny

tribe, another important advantage, viz full-laden Bateaux may have access and recess to both. What a potent lure merchant! to Canadians, who now must purchase many articles at three and four times the capital, higher from Quebec, than they may obtain these from the State of New-York. They, who pay at Cataraqui 3$ and $3\frac{1}{2}$ at Niagara for one bushel salt, are often supplied with it at the Salmon-creek for five shillings, although, even at Whites-town, Fort Stanwix and its vicinity often is paid from eight to ten Shillings. Here too, in time the prize shall be lower: cut only canals—increase the salt work, and manufacture it to a higher degree of perfection.

A bountiful God has, in this respect too provided for the wants of the Western Country with profusion. Every where are salt-springs, and but few miles from Oneyda Lake in Onondago is a copious salt lake, encircled with salt springs, the domain of the People of the State of New-York. A considerable quantity is already transported to Canada, and thousand American families make never use of any other. How the copiousness must be increased, when rock salt too is manufactured and carried to the south and west of our immense continent. How exuberant it must become, when that lime stone crust, through whose crevices it is now ascending shall be broken, and that vast body of solid salt discovered, from which now a thousand springs through ages have been satured. You perceive, that I believe in the real existence of this subterraneous treasure, which, I presume, may be discovered without Jacques Aymar *Baguette Divinatoire*, and I have no less a name than that of Leibnitz to procure credit to my supposition: He said, in his *Protogæa* "*Sub terra esse conditoria salis, satis fontes aquorum salsarum docent*" which, as you have often heard, when in Holland, faithfully translated in our English language is "that there are repositories of salt under the earth, is evident from the salt-water springs," but Rome, says the proverb, was not build in one day: what a time elapsed before the Chester-shire salt-springs were of any advantage!

what a time elapsed, before the basket-salt was brought to market, and how late was it, that the rock salt was there discovered, from which now considerable quantities, dug in large masses, are now transported to the west-coast of England, melted in sea water, and again reduced in salt and used in the curing of herrings! and how much must the value of this treasure be enhanced, when the discovered coal-mines are placed in the west at its side.

This country, so abundant in water and fish, is if possible, yet more profusely endowed by our Bountiful Maker with wood. Every kind of timber of the Northern and Eastern States is here in the greatest plenty and perfection: Butternut, wall-nut, white oak, sugar maple, chesnut, beach, black ash, pine, Hemlock, the lime tree, white wood or canoes wood and several other species. When I asserted, that the most part of these were to be found in the highest perfection, I allways limit it to our States, as our timber is unquestionably inferior to that, which is carried to the Dutch markets from the interior parts of Germany and the Baltic. Oak, pine and chesnut are chiefly found at short distances from the Lakes, the remainder in a more fertile soil at some greater distance; the Hemlock fir and pine on more barren spots.

The canals can not be opened, or the value of the timber must be raised. You know the scarcity of white-oak and pine on several points on the North-river and Mohawk, so that they are scarce sufficient to supply the first wants of the Inhabitants, who are often compelled to employ timber of an inferior kind. I might enlarge on the blessings of the hard maple, without which the new settlers would be bereft of many of the comforts of live—sugar—molasses—vinegar, was you not thoroughly acquainted with the inestimable value of this precious tree.

It is true my Dear Sir! a good soil, good water and plenty of wood for fuel and timber are strong inducements to settle in a new country—more so, when the prize of all this is enhanced by the prospect of a good market in the neighbour-

hood—but, if thou art there nearly alone without neighbours —if from the vicinity you can obtain nothing even for ready cash—if—as is the situation of the largest number, who transport their families in the woods—all consists in an axe, a plow, a wheel, a frying pan, kettle, bed and pillow, with a scanty provision of flower, potatoes and saltpork, then—what? then my Dear Sir! something else besides is required not to suffer during the first season. It is true, a little wheat is often saved in the fall, a small spot cleared, to plant in the spring corn and potatoes, while they live in the hope, if their health is spared, to prepare the soil for sowing flax-seed: but, something more yet is required to the maintenance of a numerous hungry family, and in this respect too Providence has in this Destrict graciously provided even to satiety. Never did I see yet a country, where all kind of fish was so abundant and good: It may be equalled, it cannot be excelled. I salted within a short time of more than a dozen different species, the one contending with the other for the pre-eminence, the least of these affording a palatable food. *Salmon*, *pike*, *pickrel*, *cat-fish*, if well prepared, boiled or stewed, resembing the taste of the delicious Turbot, Otzwego Baas, an Epicurean morsel, *yellow perch*, *sun-fish*, *tziob*, (chub), three species of *Trout*, *River Lobsters*, *Turtle*, *Sword-fish*, and a *green coloured fish* of an exquisite taste, white-fish, &c., &c.

The salmon is generally salted, and sold at 4 £ the barrel, cat-fish at £4 and £4–10, the eel is smoaked, and with the two preceeding sorts preserved for the winter-provision, others are consumed fresh. Hundreds of gull-eggs may be gathered in the islands. Ducks and geese visit annually the Lake and creeks in large Flocks, the swan is but seldom seen in this vicinity, while bears and Deers are roaring in the neighbourhood of every cottage. It is enough to set out a few lines at evening, to make now and then an excursion to the woods, without sacrificing much of his time, that a settler may supply his family with meat and fish during five or six months.

This is the country, in which I could wish, that our families

were transplanted, with a few industrious families around us, whom we could assist, and be mutually aided by them. Here we might soon forget the battle of the great world, might secure our happiness. if we can curb our affections, and leave a handsome inheritance to our children. But He, who directs all human affairs for the best, shall direct our steps.

Do not suspect, that I placed too much trust in general favorable reports. Follow me, and we will take an ocular inspection of the Land. On Sunday morning we bid adieu to the good widow, who left nothing undone, what was in her power, to render her homely cottage comfortable to us. About three miles from her house, a small swift-running stream emptied its waters in the Wood-creek from the South. From thence we proceeded to a place, called *Oak-orchard*, situated at the same side. We arrived ere long at the singular neck of land, about a mile in lenght, and so small, that, by standing, we discovered the water at the opposite side. This was a tedious ciacumnavigation indeed, we might have passed it in a few seconds if a passage had been cut through it.

Not far from this spot we discovered a clearing, extended towards the fiish-creek, or Oneyda River, known by the name of Capt Philips and Deans improvements. We left our canoe now and then to look at the Land. It was low and flatt near the border of the creek, and had the appearance of being annually overflowed. The muddy sediments placed it beyond doubt; the luxuriant foliage of the stately trees did leave no room to suspect, that the land might not be transformed in verdan meadows and grass-lands; at some distance the land became gradually more elevated, and was adorned with oak, beech, maple.

The approaching night compelled us to look out for a convenient spot for our encampment, in which we soon succeeded. Our tent was pitched, and a blazing fire prepared by the boys. We spread our carpet, and made our beds ready waiting for our supper. Here thousands of muskitoes welcomed us in

their abode, obtruded their company, and exhausted our patience by their treacherous caresses, in which they continued till we had encircled our tents with smoak, and yet we heard their singing—but quite different from Pergolese's *Stabat Mater*.

We covered our faces with a veil before we went to sleep. This was the first time in my life I slept in the woods, and yet my sleep was sound, but short and not very refreshing, as I awoke fatigued, and was not at ease till I drove the sleep from the eyes of all my companions, and had hurried them to the canoe, to pursue our journey.

We did so, and had scarce proceeded a mile, when the wood-creek, increasing imperceptibly in brea[d]th lost the appearance of a ditch, and appeared a handsome river, but how charming was the sight! how delightfully was I surprised, when I did see it, unexpectedly, enlarged to more than double its breadth, and our frail vessel, if a hollow tree may be decorated with this pompous name, in its middle. This sensation however was only momentaneous. It was succeeded by another of a different stamp, which I could not surpress, although I endeavoured to conquer it. You know, that in days of yore presumption was rather my fault than fear, and here I could not have dream'd, that it lurked in my breast, and yet I lounged to be somewhat nearer the banks with our canoe, but the sight of danger is as fleeting, when we dare to look sternly at it, and are willing to brave it, as that of a careless security is blending our sight, when we headless rush on in an untrodden road. I soon perceived, that we were now as safe as in the wood-creek, and it was a delight to observe, how this river doubled its speed to pay its tribute to the Lake. Now we hurried on, and encouraged our raw and unexpert hands to row on with alacrity, as we lounged impatiently to see this vast expansion of water. Our wishes were ere long gratified, we stopt our course about nine oclock, unloaded our canoe, pitched our tent, and brought firewood together, that we might have full leisure to contemplate this beautiful Lake.

Dezeng left me with the canoe and one hand to take a short excursion on the Oneyda-creek, to the south-side of the Lake, to fetch some implements, left there the year before by one Peter Frey.

This Peter Frey, born in Germany, lives since twenty years among the Oneyda-Indians, and gained their confidence in such a degree, that they use him in any affairs of consequence, and consider him as the most honest white man, with whom they have been acquainted. True it is that he takes care of their interests with a fidelity and ardour, bordering on Enthusiasm, which is but seldom met with. He is peculiarly entrusted with the management of the affairs of a Colonel Lewis, who served in the revolutionary army, and was rewarded by this state with a bounty in land.

The Oneyda and Onondago Indians cultivate many hundreds choice appletrees, from which they liberally distribute the fruits among their white neighbours, and provide them with grafts and young trees, if they are inclined to settle in their vicinity.

While Major De Zeng continued his course, in exploring the Canada-creek, I took a walk along the eastern sandy shore of this charming Lake, and examined its northern salient angles, of which the first was four, the next about nine miles distant in this circuit from the mouth of the wood creek. The woods on the south-shore are over shadowed by a chain of mountains from east to west, curiously diversified by three elevations, which by their undulations in a serpentine line altered the horizon in a most delightful manner. The small islands in the Lake could be distinguished, and Zephr ruffled its silver waves. Within a few moments I saw three canoes, one with Indians, among whom Cap^{t} Jacob Reed and one Bateau from the south and west, while two bateaux with four families from the Fish creek, landed a little below our encampment.

The soil is a barren sand; the trees near the shore dwarfish and of little value. At first, when I entered the woods, I met

with a swampy ground, but further proceeding a good loam, increasing in depth and richness, as I went on. Oak, fir, pine, water-ash, then oak beach and maple are the principal timber.

The Baron returned about 12 with two most capital eels, presented him by an Oneyda—Good Peter, who had been hired by him the last year, to follow him on a similar expedition as that, in which we now were engaged.

Having loitered here away the afternoon in examining shells and stones and plants and shrubs, we pursued our course the next morning, then rowing then using the setting poles along the shore, till we reached the point from which its northerly side may be calculated. From here the shore was generally covered with pebbles. A small creek, called by the Indians, who were with us, little fish-creek, falls here in the Lake. At the east-side near the Lake the pine, oak and Hemlock elevate their heads, and overshadow an extensive tract of tolerable good Land, although it does not assume this appearance, as at some distance from the Lake, where they are intermixed, often outnumbered by Bash-wood, ash, white-wood, chesnut and sugar-maple. To the west side of this creek is a large tract of oaks—a grey sandy soil—a little further it is covered with a thin loam, there the oaks become mingled with beach, ere long with butternut and maple, then ash, wallnut, maple and beach in a rich loam from 6 till 18 inches deep, increasing by every step, which you advance to the interior—

We had now lost a great part of two days in fishing without an adequate reward to our exertions, and might have suspected, that the exuberant abundance of this Lake in fish, of which we had heard so much boasting from white-men as well as Indians, had been exaggerated, but we soon discovered the cause of our failure, while the Indians and roving Americans confirmed us in our opinion. The Lake was now covered as with a white cloak of hundred thousands millions of Insects, which we call *Haft* in Holland, and which lay in some parts of the shore one and two inches deep. This insect appears here annually

at a stated period, although somewhat earlier than in Holland. The eggs are hatched on the surface of the water,—the winged insect flutters a short time in the air, and is buried after a short life in its watery grave, to supply the finny tribe a rich repast, from which man reaps in his turn the advantages. My Imagination warmed and exalted by the present scenes brought me in a twinkling of the eye on the Meuze, and I ordered the rowers to steer to the *Stone-Chamber* (*Steene-kamer*) to regale myself with that delicious and so handsomely shaped fish the Roach which preys upon this insect, and is never called for by the lovers of a good fare, except in these few days—A decent public house, at the mouth of the wood-creek might here replace the *Steene-kamer*, and the Land-Lord might regale his guests in a more luxurious manner. The water-plants with their broad oval leaves, their yellow and white flowers, continued the illusion. It wanted only to complete its success, a few bottles of Old-Mozel-wine—

It was infallible, my Dear friend! as I spend in my youth so many delicious hours on the Meuze, when I often staid several weeks in its vicinity, or this remembrance contributed to exhilarate my soul, enraptured with the charms of the spot, with the contemplation of the wonders, which a bountiful God spread over the face of the earth, and might to be traced in every step.

We were a little after sunset, suddenly surprised at a number of fires in a semicircular form on the Lake. I numbered nine, others several more. These were made by the Oneyda Indians spearing eel. They are usually two or three in a canoe, one steersman, one, who spears in the bow, the third takes care of the fires, made from dry, easily flaming wood, in a hollow piece of bark, first covered with sand. This brings me again to the Meuze, so see the *fuyks* setting for the salmon-fishery, or emptying these from their captives, when some are saved, others, as you know, intended for fat salmon, receive their immediate doom, being knocked on the fore part of the head,

which they term *kuyzen.* How the fisherman laughs at the fruitless endeavour of the inexpert youth to kill the salmon. He performs it allways with one, and well a soft stroke.

We proceeded in our course, and arrived at no great distance, to another, but much smaller creek emptying its waters in a pretty bay; here was the Land to some extent, towards the Lake low, and could only be appropriated for pasture or Hay-Land; but it gradually ascended about 20 feet, where it was covered with a deep black, rich fertile soil, mixed with a small portion of black sand, and covered with majestic oak, beach butternut, walnut ash and maple. Here the prospect was admirable indeed. Imagine, my Dear Sir! and yours is lively enough, imagine that falling plain near the lake, cleared from trees and stumps, and covered with verdure, embellished with a dozen of cows, justly as you contemplated in the days of yore in the rich pastures of the South Rhine and Delfs land—the Lake in front—a wood to the south at the other side, behind it the canoserago mountains—the small nimbling creek to the east, and to the west the Islands in the Lake in perspective—while behind you the noblest fields invite you to admire the rich produce of the soil, equal to the best tilled in our country.

Major Dezeng walked slowly with his gun on shore:

> With head upraised and look intent
> and eye and ear attentive bent:

while we rowed on, he give us a signal; we pushed to the shore: He told us, that he saw a bear on the next point: in an instant we left the canoe, and dispatched our boys, well armed, in the woods to cut of his retreat; DeZeng and I advanced in his front from the Lake side: when within a pistol-shot of this surly Lord of the woods. He stood still trots on a few step, and received a shot from the woods, which brok[e] his left hind-leg, another glanced his browny side. Dezeng missed his aim, and, while I stept forward with the cocked gun, DeZeng throwing his gun aside, sprung impetuously forward with the Toma-

hawk in his hand, attacked him in front, and knocked him on the head twice; Brown lifted up his paw, twice he opened his mouth, at last

Stagg'ring he falls in blood and foam expires:

We dragged him with difficulty towards the canoe, as he was indeed of a monstruous size, lifted him in it, and returned by Land to the little creek, while our men rowed towards the same spot. Here we resolved to make our encampment for that night, in the morning it proved to be the most delightful spot, which we had yet seen.

Methinks my Dear Sir! you must now be pretty tired with reading, take then what repose, the bow can not be allways bend, we are making our preparations for the same end, while our boys are opening the bear early in the morning. They shall take of his hide, to preserve it our trophy, fasten his limbs to the trees for the first passenger—man or other beast of prey—and prepare for our breakfeast a few slices roasted, with a small piece for soup at dinner. adio

Your's

KINGSTON, 7 Aug. 1792

MY DEAR SIR!—If you never tasted it, you might have declined to share in our Break-feast. Stewed slices of surly Brown was the principal dish. It was not to his advantage, that, though bulky enough, he was not fat; otherwise you must know, that in the country not only everywhere, but even to the fastidious palate of many polished New-Yorkers it is a dainty, and this meat deserved indeed this high praise, if you obtain it in its season in perfection. With all this I should not be surprised at all, that you had rather prefered a pike of three feet and six inches, which we discovered on shore—his belly torn open, without entrails—if we had catched it. I doubt not or he fell a prey to a bald eagle, who by some accident was prevented to destroy him.

We entered once more our canoe, discovered two Bateaux, steering towards the South, and arrived about noon at the black creek, the largest at this side of the Lake after the fish-creek or Oneida River:—here we dined on an excellent rice-soup from one of Brown's gammons, which we had saved.

Here was a broad piece of fore-Land, watered by this creek, and about a hundred rods further on another creek, sufficient to turn a wheel, joined it. The upland was excessive steep, high and barren—the soil fine yellow sand, the trees fir, hemlock, pine, and a few oak. At some distance the Land gradually descended, the soil became richer, and the timber was improving oak, ash, yet further Butternut beach, maple, and again the same rich black soil, not subject of being so soon exhausted or baked in intensive hot weather as the whites-town loam.

We continued our course after dinner, along the shore, and hoped, that we might reach the Fisher's bay, in which the little creek empties herself, whose vicinity was highly extolled by De Zeng, with an unbounded praise, and yet his description did not appear to me, after a cool examination, to be too highly coloured.

It was late before we reflected upon it, and a rising thunder storm urged us to take quickly hold of all our oars. I ought to have said *Pagays*, as we we[re] in a canoe. We did run, by our hurrying too fast, and through the inattention of our man at the helm, with our canoe on a hugh stone, without having it in our power, for a long while, to move it backward or forward: At lenght we got again a float, and arrived safe in the creek at Mr. Bruce's—in former days a Connecticut merchant, now an Independent Inhabitant of the Oneyda Lake, maintaining himself by the chase and fishery, and what he earned from a small potatoe spot. He fetched directly, upon our arrival a fine cat-fish from a *reservoir*, constructed from saplings and twigs, so well twisted, that no escape was possible. He praised himself not a little on his invention, as this magazine supplied his wants by foul weather, or, as he said "when Bruce was too lazy, to go in quest for other food;" and who would have been willing to poison this complacency, or withold the tribute to his ingenuity, which was really exerted in no ordinary way in this and other similar circumstances, when his powers of action were circumscribed within such a narrow sphere. Was not Cæsar himself delighted with the success of his invention, when he constructed that wonderful bridge over the Rhine, which he crossed with his army, to penetrate into Germany, and of which he seemed pleased, to leave us such a minute description—and Bruce, poor as he now was indeed, had a pretty high opinion of himself, seemed not to wish to repass the Mohawk—and—if not *suo se virtute involvens*, considering himself as the best man, appeared at least to enjoy ease and contentment. He was a Bruce!

This catfish weighed 10 lb—we obtained afterwards one of 24—some have been taken of 40 & 45 weight, but those of the largest size are chiefly brought from Lake Ontario: when Bruce had prepared him, he shewed to us a handfull fat, as yellow as gold. It was indeed a delicious repast for our supper. Roasted, as this was, and no cook could have done it better, or

boiled or stewed, as we did eat· afte1 a while, you would not have been able to distinguish it from a fine Turbot, if its shape had been imitated. A barrel containing about fifty catfish, the head and backbone being thrown away, is sold here at £.4–10. We observed here two sorts of Trout (*Forellen*) both known by the name of Salmon-Trout, although incorrectly. We could not obtain a specimen of the white species. These were the yellow, and the red coloured, properly named Salmon-Trout. The first is generally of a smaller size, its colour a dark brown with a yellow tinge; the other is larger, the brown more lively, with reddish spots fringed with a colour of gold, and are sometimes between two and three feet long. The Chub (Tziob) is the usual bait, sometimes froggs.

In the morning we made an excursion in the country, took a straight northerly course, and returned through the west and south at the other side to our encampment. The fore Land near the Lake at the east side of the creek appeared but indifferent to the eye, now somewhat used to contemplate first rate soil, and the timber stood in the same relation. At the distance of about ¼ mile from the Lake the ground rises gradually, and continues to do so, if you proceed another quart[er] mile. Then the soil increases in fertility from step to step, and in the same proportion in depth. We had at first only a layer of four, then of 6 inches, which augmented from two to seven palms of my hand. When we had proceeded about two miles —sometimes it is a black mould, in other places it was mixed with a fine black sand, sometimes a rich blue, sometimes a fine yellow clay.

It seems to me, that you art somewhat surprised at my accuracy. Do you not then recollect, that I never could be satisfied, in having done a thing by halv? I may be mistaken—I may make a wrong decision through ignorance or inadvertence, but it was my sincere aim to obtain a correct view of this country, for your for my own sake.

I removed with my large pocket-knife first the muck till I

reached the first lay, and protruded then a sound stick in that spot, as far as it could penetrate, when I often, at five and seven palms depth discovered the same sort of soil at the end of the stick as that on the surface. Beach, maple, walnut was the principal timber with here and there an ash and lime tree, oak and pine near the shore.

We crossed the creek a little above Beaverdam and found the same excellent soil at the west-side with the same gradation, and in the same proportion, as that, which we had explored on the east, till we arrived again at the plain, covered with fir and pine.

"This is a barren plain De Zeng!" So it seems, but it has good water, it has good building spots, and by manuring and good husbandry, will make good gardens; "It is barren indeed De Zeng! although it may be meliorated" but you do not reflect on the advantages of that creek; art thou not convinced by what you have seen, that, with small exertions to improve it, full-laden Bateaux may go in and out—may do it actually now. Did your eye not discover the mill-seats on this creek? ought the valuable Lands, back to these not to come in competition? can you not see Bateaux ascending Bruce's creek, and descending the Salmon creek?—can you not see the furs and other valuable produce of Canada brought hither, through the canal? ah! do you not see already various stores and magazines crowded with merchandise—then you nothing of second sight: return to this spot within 30, 40 years, and you shall exclaim "Dezeng was pretty near the truth but underrated yet the value of the spot;" and so it would indeed have been now, had a colony been planted here under Stuyvesant's administration, and the noble patronage of the Dutch Government, of a few families of Boors from Guelder Land, and of fishermen from the borders of the Meuze!—

A swamp begins about two miles and a half from this creek, which extends itself considerably in the country, and joins an excellent piece of Land, which is separated by another marsh

from the Lake towards the west. You may calculate the value of this Land, by that one of the Oneyda Indians, Colonel Lewis, left nothing untried, to have it secured to him as his individual property; and that the Indians, when afterwards a French adventurer, one Chevalier Bennet, had obtained the possession, did give him in lieu of it 60000 acres near Cataragui. Even these swamps must acquire in time no inconsiderable value from the timber, which they contain. Their draining nevertheless—though it may be executed—must be an expensive undertaking, by want of a descent for the water as they are laying nearly on a level.

We left Bruce's creek on friday evening about six, the sky was serene and delightful:—a soft breeze curled the waves, and fringed them with white, while the sun, sinking towards the west beautified the whole scenery. I did not witness such a grand or majestic sight, since I crossed the Atlantic. It must be seen, before it can be fully appraised—and then it must be a brute, whose bosom does not glow with an ardent love towards his Creator, and adore this goodness and wisdom, so majestically display'd in every part of the Universe. In proportion that we penetrated deeper in the Lake the beauty of this diversified prospect was more and more enhanced—the Islands, the shores, the woods, the mountains obtruding themselves to our sight, seemed to vie with other for the preference. At lenght the slight breeze increased; ere long a brisk wind arose from the west: the increased undulated motion with the white capped waves appalled our raw hands, whose trembling limbs and pale visages too clearly betray'd their fear of a threatning shipwreck. We endeavoured to assuage it, as the wind was steady. If we had any apprehension it arose from their inexpertness, from their unsubdued tenor, from the knowledge, that two or three waves would have been sufficient to sink our deep loaded canoe. We conquered nevertheless, and they rowed on with redoubled alacrity. We encouraged and applauded their efforts, and laughed away their fears.

I never witnessed a more charming sight: It was indeed exquisitely beautiful: the sun in its full splendour at the western horizon, gilding the enlightened clouds—an an extensive sheet of water, in an undulating motion—two Islands towards the south in front, which we were now approaching, a small opening between these, through which we had a view of the southern coast, one single, covered with grass, and with one tree adorned rock, behind which in perspective appeared the country of the Oneydas with the Canoserago Hills.

We landed half after seven at the largest and most westerly Island, towed the canoe on shore, and walked by an Indian path in the woods.

This Island might in ancient days have been the happy seat of a Goddess—in the middle age that of a Magician—or, a Fairy's residence in the times of chivalry. Proceeding on one after another through the stately trees, through which we perceived yet the last glances of the setting sun, we were at once, after a few rods surprised with an enchanting view, of which it is not in my power to give you an adequate description. All what the Poets did sing of the gardens of Alcinous—all the scenery of those of Armida, so highly decorated by Virgil and Ariosto, could scarce have made upon me, who was captivated unawares and bewildered, a more deep impression than this spectacle of nature. We did see here a luxuriant soil in its virgin bloom—we did see industry crowned with blessing—we did see here what great things a frail man can perform if he is willing. It seemed a Paradise, which happiness had chosen for her residence. Our path, gradually increasing in breadth did lead us to the circumference of a cleared circle, surrounded with lime-trees; at both sides of the path was planted Indian corn, already grown from 4 [to] 5 feet, while a few plants towards the middle of this patch were six feet long—and this in the middle of June. A small cottage of a few feet square stood nearly in the centre of this spot. It had a bark covering and

to the left of it a similar one, three-fourth uncovered, and appropriated for a kitchen. Here was the residence of Mr. & Madame de Watines with their three children!

They lived there without servants, without neighbors, without a cow; they lived, as it were, separated from the world. De Wattiness sallied forward, and gave us a cordial wel-come in his Desménes. The well educated man was easily recognized through his sloven dress. Ragged as he appeared, without a coat or hat, his manners were those of a Gentleman; his address that of one, who had seen the higher circles of civilized life. A female, from whose remaining beauties might be conjectured, how many had been tarnished by adversity, was sitting in the entrance of this cot. She was dressed in white, in a short gown and petticoat, garnished with the same stuff; her chessnut brown hair, flung back in ringlets over her shoulders, her eyes fixed on her darling Camille—a native of this Isle—at her breast; while two children, standing at each side of her, play'd in her lap. Her appearance was amiable indeed: a wild imagination might have lost herself, and considered the wearied toiling Des Wattines, as the Magician, who kept this beautiful woman in slavery, but ere soon the charm dwindled away. Esteem for the man filled our bosom, and when you considered, how indefatigably he must have exerted himself! what sacrifices he must have made! what hardships endured, to render her situation comfortable, and rear roses for her on this Island—so deep in the western wilderness—then, notwithstanding all the foibles, which a fastidious cool observer might discover at his fireside, in a character and conduct as that of Des Wattines, he becomes an object of admiration: I at least gazed at him in wonder. Des Wattines introduced us to his spouse. She received us with that easy politeness, which well educated people seldom loose entirely, and urged, with so much grace, to sit down, that we could not refuse it without incivility. This couple was now in the second year on this Island, and all the improvements, which we had seen, were the work of Des Wattines hands exclusively.

Our refreshment was a dish of tea, or rather their usual beverage from *Venus-hair*, which she has collected and dried, palatable enough indeed, when sweetened with sugar. It was growing dark before we could be persuaded to leave our new companions, who insisted on our staying with them that night; which we declined reluctantly, but engaged ourselves to return in the morning, and to partake of their break-feast.

Both had gained a claim to this sudden affectionate attachment. He initiated in the manners of the fashionable world of the old continent, with a tincture of Belles Lettres, with that sprightliness and versatility of mind, characterizing

> ce Peuple aimable, ami des arts
> tantot grave, tantot futile
> par cent tourbellons emporté,
> agitant d'une main legere
> les hochets de la nouveauté;
> frivole et gay par charactere
> et raisonneur par vanité.

She, so artless, so graceful, so fair, who might have extorted compliance, where a world of men could not prevail; could it be else, or Europeans, not insensible to the pleasures of society, and separated from those, dear to their hearts, must have been gratified with the vicinity and courtesy of this couple.

Few trunks, few chairs, an oval table, two neat beds was the principal furniture: a double barreled gun a pretty collection of Books, chiefly modern Literature in the French language, the chief ornaments of the cottage.

At our return to our encampment our tent was pitched, the fire blazing, our boys snoring, and we too fell asleep. I awoke with day-light, and made the circuit of this fortunate Island. When returned to the place of our Landing, I crossed the corn-plantation, and went on, to contemplate more carefully, what might have escaped my sight the preceding evening.

Des Wattines had laid out behind the cottage a pretty garden, divided by a walk in the middle. The two foremost beds,

and *rabats*, against the house were covered with a variety of flowers, sweet-williams, Lady-slippers, with a few decaying hyacinths. At the right hand were Bath-beans, large kidney-beans at poles, cabbage, turnips, peas, salade with that strong s[c]ented herbage which we call *keovel* (cheovel) and which you purchased so dear at your arrival in New-York, although its culinary use in cakes and soup was *then* yet unknown there; at the left watermelons, canteloups, cucumbers, persil, string peas with a few of the winter provisions, all in great forwardness, with few or no weeds among them: Behind the garden a small nursery of apple-trees, which was closed with a patch of luxurient potatoes, and these again were joined from both sides by wheat, describing a semi-circle around it.

All this was the workmanship of Des-Wattines's industry without any assistance, not even of a plow or harrow, having no other tool but an axe and an hoe. It is true, it was all in miniature, but it required nevertheless an indefatigable industry, to be able to accomplish all this to such a degree of perfection. When I approached the cottage Des Wattines was yet employ'd in dragging pretty heavy wood for fuel towards it, which he chopt and split, in a short time ; and in less yet the fire was blazing, when he came with a cat-fish of 16 lb for our break-feast. While he was busily engaged in its preparation Madame appeared, brought him a handful persil, and dressed the table. The table cloth was of neat damask, a few silver spoons and forks, the plates and dishes cream coloured, remnants yet of their former affluence, while the contentment legible in her eyes, spread a fresh glow over her countenance, and made a deep impression on our hearts, and, whetted our already keen appetites. De Zeng was mean-while arrived, and complimented Madame with his usual politeness. Salade, roasted and stewed fish, well-baked, warm bread of Indian corn, with good Hyzan tea, which she accepted from us with kindness, soon filled the table. I was seldom better regaled. The fish was delicious: the sprightly conversation gave a fresh

relish to every mouthful we tasted, and we might have desired, to be Inhabitants of that enchanted spot, had it been in our power to withdraw our attention from the hardship, to which they were exposed, and banish the idea, that they seldom could obtain anything else but fish.

You know my Dear Sir! how all significant it is, *toujours de Perdrix!* although the gay conviviality of Des Wattines drove for a while this gloomy thought away, it could not prevent its return—while now and then a down-cast look—how suddenly it was relieved—an involuntary half suppressed sigh give a new poignancy to the bitterness of this feeling. Des Wattines, even assisted by De Zeng, ridiculed in vain similar reveries and phantoms: She smiled and its force was blunted: an Island! in Oneyda Lake! the want of all society whatever—except perhaps a solitary visit from—a bear—the want of many of the first necessaries of life—and, that too in her situation—when her Camille was born! the imperious necessity to leave from time to time such an amiable, delicate woman with three children helpless—sometimes several days together—alone on this Island—as often Des Wattines went to the Oneyda-creek for corn: was it possible, that similar reflections should not have marred the most tumultuous joy! I will not deny, that my spirits were damped, and my jocundity was now and then deeply tinged with melancholy.

Des Wattines inquired in the boundaries of my Journey, "to Lake Ontario:" and "in what manner?" "well with our canoe" was the reply. He sprung from his chair, and stared us fully in the face with a *Par Dieu!* with your canoe! to Lake Ontario! *Nanny!* prenesle Bateau take it Major! it is at your service—Prenes-le." We did not hesitate long to accept his offer. We might have brought our adventurous expedition to a happy end, it was unquestionable, that we might effect with far greater safety in a Bateau. We soon had our baggage transported on it, left our canoe behind at the Island, with our frying pan through the slothfulness of our

hands. We started thus on Saturday morning about ten. Towards the South the Canoserago creek, rich in fish, falls in the lake. The bottom of the Lake at the south side is a grey-stone—which extends to the shore—and seems divided in oblong squares. There are appearances, and very strong indeed, of rock iron, which ore in some parts is extending for a considerable lenght on the shore: and, although we had proofs to call not its reality in question, we could not ascertain it. The land had again a very promising aspect at some distance from the shore, and shall, I doubt not, be transformed, within a few years in productive farms. We arrived at fort Brewerton about noon, situated at the North-western corner of the Lake. Here is a location of about four hundred acres, obtained by Mr. Staats during the late Brittish war. It was now inhabited by two families, viz. that of one Cap^{t} Bingham and one Mr Simonds, the latter from Cagnawagha. They had rented it at twenty £ a year, and desired to make a purchase of it, but Mr Staats, acquainted with its value had constantly declined their offers.

I was highly gratified with excellent bread and butter, feasted on milk for my beverage, and purchased two pints of it, which we carried to our Bateau. The situation alone renders this spot of considerable consequence; and its importance must be heightened as soon the backlands are settled, and the navigation of the western waters shall be carried to that summit, to which it eventually must ascend. The soil is clay, of which a large quantity of brick was made. Somewhat further a sandy loom was covered with stately trees—oak then beach ash and mapple.

We arrived in the Onondago river, which even as the fish-creek, has generally very steep banks—more so however at the west-side. We passed some times, through our unexpertness large rists, with difficulty. It was said here was an ancient Indian eel-wear—by which this natural obstruction in the bed of the river had been increased. The stream was otherwise

very placid, and our progress of course, easy. To the west, joining Staats location, is an excellent tract of land, the property of Mr. L'Home Dieu—to the south the military Lands, chiefly a valuable, fruitful soil. A sudden shower compelled us to land about three miles below fort Brewerton, where we encamped that night—being resolved if the rain might abate, to take a view of the Land.

The soil is rich, with a great variety of luxuriant trees, a black loom with a mixture of fine sand of the same color, many inches deep, then clay—the timber majestic, spreading its branches and foliage, beach, oak, maple, black ash, with here and there a pine and hemlock. I had ventured, rather imprudently perhaps, a few miles in the woods: the beauty of the stop had lured me deeper and deeper, till at last I knew not from where I came, or wither I went: the sun being set, I had lost this unerring guide—my only refuge was now my pocket-compass, by which I again discovered the course, which I had to steer towards the river. This nevertheless would have brought me two miles below my encampment, had not DeZeng, apprehensive of this issue, send out the boys to hunt the straggler.

Next day about three in the afternoon we reached three-River Point, eighteen miles from fort Brewerton. Here join the Onondago and Seneca River, that of Oswego, flowing to Lake Ontario in a southwesterly direction.

One Barker lived at the east side of this point, whose chief employment was to conduct the Bateaux over the falls in Oswego River. He might have been independent, had he possessed virtue and strenght of mind sufficient to take advantage of his situation. Every Bateau bound to or coming from the Genesees—Onondago—Oswego—Cataraqui and Niagara stops here, and their crews would often deem it a happiness, could they there be supplied with refreshments of bread, butter and milk—of rum and gin. He knew scarce the first so seldom did he see these articles, and the latter he wanted for himself exclusively.

This spot is a reservation of Church Land for the benefit of the District—and why not—my Dear Sir—are not by this Great State a few millions of their unsold lands devoted and appropriated to the maintenance of the clergy—without any distinction of sects—so the new settlers would not be burthened above what they are able to bear and the worthy clergy would not often be reduced to beggary.

A small patch of corn promised a good crop and a similar of Summer wheat—which he said to have sown the first of May—had branched out its large ears.

At the southwest side of Oswego, is the valuable tract of L. Gansevoort, with here and there a cleared spot and another in no respect, except extension, inferior to this is a location of one thousand acres of L'Home-Dieu—to the North of the Onondago, opposite to the southern point of the Oswego.

We hired Barker at five shillings a day to bring us over the fall, and stay with us till our return. We started from the point at four. We distinguished at a considerable distance the grumbling noise of the water on the first and second rist. Near the first is a remarquable good mill-site. Here were the Onondagos collected in large numbers—some fishing —some smoaking in their huts—others from time to time arriving and passing us in their bark canoes, with much art constructed—so light and easily manageable that a squaw with her little daughter gained on us, and left us soon behind her by her volocity. We concluded to encamp about ten miles from three-rivers point, opposite to a handsome Island in the Oswego river. The pickrel often weigh here thirty pound—pike is of a similar size. We took a catfish of four span and a half—perch too; of which we obtained a few, is here in abundance.

At a short distance from the river is a good fertile soil—further of a rich clay—the timber pretty similar to that, which we had seen before. We started again pretty early on Monday morning and arrived at the falls, twelve miles from the

point. This indeed was again a very interesting sight. You would be enraptured with it, could I borrow and then make use of Vernet's pencil, so that I could do justice to the scenery —I would offer you a grand tableau. At the South-side is a farm of three hundred acres of one Mr. Valckenburg who intends to build here this year a saw and gristmill. It is a noble spot for constructions of this kind.

Here we unloaded our Bateau—dragged it about hundred rods over the carrying place, and there, below the falls committed her again to its proper element. In few moments our baggage was again on board, and we in the Bateau. Here Barker did give us a proof of his dexterity and alertness: with a rapidity which dimmed the sight with an incredible swiftness, we passed over stones, between rocks and islands—as an arrow on the wing, and lost the falls out of our sight and hearing, before we could reflect to turn our eyes once more towards these, or examine our process with coolness. At twelve we arrived at Oswego—yet secured by a Brittish garrison, notwithstanding it ought to have been surrendered many years before to our government—in conformity to the Treaty of Peace. But I should not have dared to assert, that from our side all its articles had been religiously observed. If so, nevertheless, then our national forbearance was a rare example in a Republican Government.

It is time, my Dear Sir! to take some repose. I at least, am in want of it, and the generous can not be lack in courtesy. In my next I shall bring you to the limits of the land of promise. I will not leave you there, but, depend upon it, you will perceive how I am then speeding—as a dart from the bow, towards my beloved family. Adio'

Yours &c.

KINGSTON, 10 Aug. 1792.

MY DEAR SIR!—Two fortifications commanding a considerable extent of water and land, attracted first our notice. That to the south—constructed in former days by the Brittish—was now chiefly demolished; that to the North fortified by the French, and conquered on them by the Brittish, during the seven years war, is yet garrisoned by them—although within our lines. Its whole defence however is but one company, which could not make any resistance, as all the fortifications are so decay'd that it would not be a great achievement to drive over these ramparts with waggon and horses. Neither does it seem the intention, to make any repairs—from the consciousness, no doubt, that their surrender is long since finally concluded, and only delayed on account of some triffling formalities, at this or the other side of the Atlantic. I saw nevertheless, in this paltry, despicable fortress, seven barrels salt, taken from an American Bateau by an American run-away, now a Brittish custom-house officer. It is forsooth! a port of entry, which a sturdy Yankee might pass without a fee. This practice could not be continued, if the whole country was settled, even if the post was not surrendered; as Americans could not, neither would bear much longer such an indignity; neither would a large force be required to set this garrison at defiance. An act of hostility, however, would in the present situation, be an act of imprudence—of rashness—as it might clogg our Government's negotiations—and the day is now fast approaching that it shall be peaceably surrendered, and the American stripes unfurled on this bulwark, when the Brittish Leopard may return with honour to his Canadian den.

The commanding officer, a Rhode Island man by birth, Cap[t] Wickham, treated us with a great deal of politeness, and regretted to be unable to offer us refreshments, as the Canadian sloop, which was for these, was not yet returned, but every hour expected.

This frank and fearless veteran, was not at all alarmed at our appearance, or suspected that we might come to discover and betray the nakedness of this country and fort, entrusted to his charge. He inquired carelessly in the object of our expedition, and made an offer of his aid, whenever he might be of any service to us,—and he did so effectually: It was through his management that the Brittish interpreter, thoroughly acquainted with Lake Ontario and its shores, agreed to conduct us to the Salmon-creek.

This Mr. Price spend a part of his youth with Onondago Indians. He was in the beginning discreet enough and civil throughout the whole of this excursion, but, his society, otherwise far from indifferent, lost a great part of its worth by his incessant swearing. It was indeed if he deemed it an accomplishment. This was a pity indeed, as he was blessed by a bountiful God with various rare endowments, a sound judgment, a lively imagination, undaunted courage, with a frame of body so strong, that it baffled all fatigues; so handsome that he did not want to stoop, wherever he wished to conquer. He was an ingenious mechanic indeed, excelling to whatever he bended his versatile genius. He made an excellent violin for one Mr. Gordon, an European, who was often pleased to say in its praise, that in Canada it might be offered for a Cremonese.

This Mr Price was our *Palinurus*—as soon we had entered our Bateau, which was about four in the afternoon, our raw hands rowed, Price was at the helm. We did sit on the middle bench; ere long we reached deep water.

Lake Ontario resembles rather an open sea, than an inland reservoir of water. You look in vain for land to rest your eye upon. We arrived with a fresh breeze at four miles point, hoisted now our sail, passed it, and obtained then a view of a range of perpendicular rocks, which rendered a landing impossible and dangerous to approach them nearer. I cannot say that I was charmed at first with this prospect, and yet it was

imposing enough—but I was become too much accustomed to peaceful rural scenes, to become at once enamoured with objects of grandeur—risen and protruded by the woods—the waves and the rocks. Not one of our Argonauts, or he seemed pleased with the trip: what signified rowing where we might sail? Spread the canvass! how merrily glides our Bateau over the waves. Bernhard, one of our hands boasted on his seamanship and experience. He doubted not. or he might bring a vessel in safety in the harbour—He had seen the narrows between Long-Island and Staten-Island. Prize swoar that he was tired with steering and called with another curse our Pilot, to take care of the helm. Now he placed himself between us and smoaked his pipe. Our new steersman pointed every time towards shore, which he as often was compelled by a general command to steer more towards the middle—as we were now between the tremendous rocks at four and nine 'miles point. The wind suddenly increased—our Pilot turned again towards the Shore, and was anew for a moment by Prize's tremendous curses overawed to steer once more to deep water. But his increasing fear—not longer within his controul—a desultory animated conversation between DeZeng, Price and myself, permitting him to follow the bias of his alarming impulse, and a pretty rough western wind carried us within a few moments at a distance of a few rods only—towards these horrible perpendicular rocks—of which some seemed suspended over the watery surface. We were now in an imminent danger—a ship-wreck—by which the Bateàu must have been dashed in pieces, seemed inevitable—and no live might have been saved, except, perhaps, that of Price. At once, a loud pitiful cry, "hold towards shore," struck our ears—Price did tear the oar from Barker's hand—commanded to lower the sail, and bring out the oars—but all in vain: The Pilot wept and cry'd—"hold towards shore Mr. Price—good Mr Price! push on shore, I pray God Almighty—Dear Mr. Price set on shore." Price's reply was "God damn your rascal! down the sail—out the oar

—obey or sink! One of our boys sat nearly lifeless in the bow, the other near the mast, pale as death, with staring eyes and with opened mouth. The danger increased to appearance—the surge rose higher and higher: our united strenght and weight, viz: DeZeng's and mine—were scarce sufficient to prevent the Bateau, turning upside down, twice did I actually see a great part of the bottom, twice I did see it naked—one half inch more and we had been lost. At last the sail was struck, the oar out, and we were only in part exposed to the first shock—while Price, who remained calm and alert, succeeded in forcing the prow into the waves, and bringing us again in safety in deep water: when the danger was past—the terror of our crew abated, and I praised in my soul the Almighty—as I do yet this instant, for our hair-breath escape.

Price remained now at the helm, and we proceeded on our course with a steady breeze, very pleasantly, except that DeZeng and I were thoroughly soaked over our right side from top to toe—while our three hirelings grined that they were yet dry. This was our reward for our arduous struggle to avert a peril, which threatened to overwhelm us all.

We entered, notwithstanding the foaming breakers a creek, of the middle size—three miles to the south of the little Salmon-creek—towed our bateau in an inlet and choase the heights for our encampment. Before our tent was pitched and our fire in full blaze, Price and Barker returned with a large eel and hugh catfish—which were more than sufficient for our suppers.

We arrived on Tuesday at the little salmon-creek—Here was fish in the greatest abundance—Otsego, bass, perch, sunfish, catfish, eel, sheeps head, similar but superior in flavour—to that species called *neus braessen* by the Dutch, and sword-fish. We speared a few of these, and cut of their heads, armed with swords—of five and six inches in lenght—without tushing the fish—as some of our crew pretended that it was of a poisonous nature—which I would doubt. It might be so in

the sword:—it might be that this terrible weapon overawed the first examiners and roused their imagination to give birth to similar dreams. The meat certainly appears good—being solid, white—and lined with a milky substance. The Salmon collects here and in the big Salmon-creek in nearly incredible numbers, during the fall and spring.

The soil along the shore is generally indifferent, seldom, to appearance, above mediocrity. Sand and stone at various distances, intersected by swamps—A few pine—more Hemlocks and sometimes a cedar Brush. As soon you penetrate somewhat deeper in the country its interior parts become more pleasing, the soil more fertile, more valuable the timber beach and maple re-appear, intermixed with oak and walnut—several mill-seats are on these large creeks.

The wind was too vehement on Wednesday to proceed on our journey with such an ighorant and even cowardly crew—even the daring Price advised us not to run the risk—But he could not on any account be persuaded to remain longer with us, and flew out of sight in the woods.

We heard the report of a gun, & another, and there was Price returned. he threw a couple of partridges at our feet, and departed finally.

We catched yellow perch, which indeed was exquisite, large pickrel and pike some two feet long. The Lake became more tempestuous—the wind blew a gale and our Typheus had left us. Now I could not conquer a rising wish to be reunited to a beloved family: Dear to my heart by so many ties—and enjoy with them that placid contentment in our peaceful abode in Ulster; and, when I felt that it was vain, it encreased for a few moments to a painful anguish. The thought that my presence would be more and more longed for every day—that it was actually required there—the roughness of our hands, with whose intimacy I became disgusted—the want of a number of comforts and conveniences to which I was accustomed, and seemed now for the first time to become sensible of—all this

with the uncertainty when we might leave this spot with safety, subdued for a while my sprightliness, and rendered me morose and sullen—but it was only a morning cloud, which passed by.

The recollection, that He who rules and directs all for the best, restored my wonted equanimity, while De Zengs insinuating address and entertaining conversation soon again brought my feelings in union with his. The violence of the tempest increased with the falling night, and did not abate till the morning, when we compelled our pilot and crew to enter once more in the bateau.

When we perceived that Barker brought us nearly in the same position as before, we listened to prudence advice, and considered it our duty to land in the same creek, which we had entered on monday. We took here, after we had rowed up this creek for two miles, a large quantity of Trout of various sizes—to regale us at dinner.

Nothing, my Dear Sir! resembles nearer the small rivulets and canals in South-Holland, than these creeks, as far as these are navigable. You see the same water plants and flowers—in some parts the *conferva*, covering a part of the surfaces—the same insects—the same serpentine wanderings. We took a walk after dinner a few miles in the country, following the course of the creek at some distance—when we found a rich soil, and here and there a mill-seat. A variety of huts, scattered along the creek, with a sort of sheds to dry eels, was a full proof that neither here was want of fish. The small river lobsters was here plentiful. The soil was full of stones near the creek, which diminished in proportion that we receeded from it. This fertile soil was covered with some oaks, beach and maple, in some parts mixed with walnut, chesnut and butternut. We returned about six o'clock to our encampment—but our Pilot and one of our hands were unwilling to embark that evening: tomorrow morning, this night they would start. The Lake was yet too high. At last however, being prevailed on one of our lads, we got them all, willing, unwilling, in the

boat. We placed him whose good-will I had secured, at the helm. The pilot with his mate in mutiny at the oars and pushed forward deep enough in the lake, while De Zeng and I took a pogay in the hand, to prosper our course.

Here we met with the bateau, from which the Brittish had secured a part of the cargo of salt, permitting it to depart, after the remainder had been redeemed. It proceeded to Cadaraghkin. A fresh westerly breeze with the falling evening, induced us to look out for a landing spot, in which we sooner and better succeeded than we could have expected. It was about two miles above nine miles point. The wind suddenly increased again: we hauled our bateau on dry land—so that we might not loose her during the night.

It was now about eight aclock, the evening beautifully charming beyond expression: the bank on which we had pitched our tent was about four feet above the level of the shore: before our tent was a large fire in full blaze—the sky remarquably clear—a double colonnade of stately, broad-branched beach and birch trees, surrounding our encampment, planted as it seemed by our warmed imagination in a regular symmetry, without intercepting from our eyes the sight of the Lake, which was illumined by the moon. The soil appeared tolerably good, the bank continued to rise above us, but it was too late now for a more accurate examination. I was indeed charmed with this beautiful spot. the supper was welcome—we chatted away a part of the evening, before we perceived from the snoaring of our crew, that it was late, and high time to lay down. My sleep was refreshing. I awoke with a renewed ardour, and roused at breakday every soul in the tent, by my uninterrupted halloos.

At six aclock we rowed already with all our might, and arrived about ten at the fort to our great satisfaction and joy. As there remained nothing in the place to keep our curiosity alive, we had soon our dinner prepared and dispatched, when ready to start, Cap^{t} Wickham returning, from the woods with half a

dozen pigeons in his hand, giveth us a friendly call. We left the Fort at one aclock, and made our encampmt that night three miles from the falls, after having walked one mile to lessen the freight of the bateau—and now, my Dear Sir! you will enjoy with us, that we accomplished this journey without any real misfortune. The remainder must be of course riding post over the same ground, become now to us less interesting, and yet I wish to reserve the conclusion for my next.

Your's

KINGSTON, 15 Aug. 1792.

MY DEAR SIR!—Our breakfeast was in readiness at an early hour, neither did we tarry long; all hands to the Bateau! Speed, Boys! Speed! and the command was promptly executed. Our boat seemed to acquire a new vigour, either that he was satisfied fully with the lenght of this trip, or that he actually lounged for his home. We arrived at three river point about seven, discharged Mr Barker, and pitched our tent in the vicinity of his house, crowded with travellers from several bateaux and canoes, which tarried there since yesterday. Barker had caught, by throwing a line behind the bateau, four large Oswego Baas, the smallest of a foot long, which was the best part of our supper.

I had now an opportunity of examining and witnessing the truth, of what the Baron had told me before of the curious manner, by which the chubs (Tziobs) hide their eggs. They deposit these along the rivers of Oswego and Onondago on shallow spots, and cover these afterwards with small pebbles, heaped in a conical form, some what below the surface of the water, while others were prominent above it.

Need I tell you, my Dear Sir! that Fort Brewerton, which we reached at four in the afternoon, was to us a delightful sight. Cap^{t} Bingham was from home on the Salmon-fishery, and Cap^{t} Simonds with the women on a visit to the Island. His eldest Daughter, nevertheless! a smart young girl, prepared us a good supper—a baas of two pound—a dish with stewed eel, with fresh bread and butter. Our break-feast was congenial, having secured two capital eels, with a pot of milk and rice we hurried to the Island, and complimented Mr and Madame des Wattines on monday morning between nine and ten. We were again congratulated with a hearty welcome, and a new zest was added to our gratification, when Des Wattines proposed, to conduct us to the fish-creek or Oneyda-River, as he was compelled to go to the Oneyda's for Indian corn. His

garden was yet more pleasant—its value unquestionably had increased. Head lettuce Pursley (Porclain) string peas and kidney-beans were in full perfection. They would not be refused, and seemed not satisfied, before we were provided with some store of their plenty, as they were pleased to call it—and then yet, they, as it were, compelled us by their kind, although nearly importune entreaties to accept a mesh of new potatoes: with a large catfish. Madame walked with us to the shore: there we stept in the bateau; one of his dogs had taken early a place in our canoe, the other did swimm behind it. Madame des Wattines with her Camille to her bosom, her eldest boy between her and his sister at her side, motionless, staring at us, with an expressive countenance, with features pourtraying, what her soul so keenly seemed to feel in that distressing moment of separation—*adieu—Des Wattines!* was all which we could distinguish. There stood that lovely, deserted fair one! not deserted as Ariadne—but nevertheless left alone—with three helpless children—alone! on an Island on Oneyda Lake. I turned my head from this mournful object, and conquered with some reluctance these painful sentiments which tortured my bosom. His dog followed our bateau swimming, and landed at lenght at the second Island, when he continued a while barking, and then returned, as we supposed, and Des Wattines assured us, to his mistress.

We saw, before we reached the Creek, a summer shower, refreshing the Islands, on which no drop of rain had fallen since three weeks. So takes a bountiful Father care of those of his children, who are destitute of every other assistance. So he waters the wilderness refreshes the herbs in the desert, and fills the hearts of those that were languishing, with food and gladness.

We took our dinner by Bruce, where our milk and rice, which we purchased at Fort Brewerton, was to all a palatable dish, then we bid a hearty fare-well to our recluse, presumtively a fare well forever, and returned towards evening to the

mouth of the fish-creek or Oneyda-River, from which we started for our expedition. De Watines prepared our *Soupé* of eel and cat-fish, while we superintended the pitching of our tent, and making a good fire. This was a truly social entertainment—our hearts were flushed with success, and the prospect before us of meeting ere long with our wives and children—and—having passed some of the great waters of the Western Lakes, it rendered our feelings exquisitely delightful.

Here we were gratified with a visit, if it is not presumptuous to make use of such a familiar term, when I speak of a casual meeting of such great folks as the first Judge Lansing, and Col. Lewis, the Attorney General of the State, and Major Farley, who all went to attend the circuit, and yet we considered it a visit—as we too had been considered as great folks by some, who wanted our cash—as we were the first occupants of the soil—and this, according with the gift of, I know not of what ancient or modern Pontif—if it was not St. George or St Francis, the proprietors of the soil exclusively. We separated after conversation, they doomed to remain there till it pleased the westerly breese to abate; Des Watines parting from us in his bateau to the Oneyda-creek, and we proceeding with our canoe to the fish-creek or Oneyda-River. Here we met with one of our old acquaintance—Mr. Abraham Lansing, who with one Mr. Fonda went to Niagara. We stopt at the mouth of the Wood-creek. I concluded, while De Zeng with one of our lads was preparing our dinner to take with the other a view of the fish-creek. Before we started, Cap^{t} Bingham returned with five barrels salmon, and sold us a fresh one.

We rowed up the creek about three miles, and there landed on the side between the fish and wood-creek: here we met first with a broad girdle of fertile flat land, nearly east by west, then a long tract of pine chiefly, then beach, maple and oak. The lower parts at this side are often overflown. The land at the west-side is much higher, than that to the east. I ordered the boy to proceed higher up, and took a similar course landward

in, and examined the soil from time to time, which I found generally fertile, although of a less favorable aspect towards the lake, and richer again in proportion that I took a North-western course.

My opinion was as much formed from the variety of timber as from the soil, which through a partial and incorrect examination might have led me astray. I reached my canoe near the mouth of the wood-creek, entered it, and found after an absence of three hours the peas-porridge ready. We remained that evening two miles at this side of the oak-orchard, where we breakfeasted, and met about one mile from it Mess. Boon and Lincklaen, who, assisted by Mr. Morris, a Land-surveyor proceeded on a similar excursion. It was two a clock before we arrived at the widow Armstrong's cottage. In an instant the kettle was hung on the fire, to boil our fresh salmon. We made ourselves an ample compensation for our frugal repast at Breakfeast. The salmon was delicious enough, although not so fat, which, no doubt, was occasioned, that it was speared; but, certainly this one, though considered large, was much smaller than usually those on the river the Meuze.

Amos Fuller, who resided now with his family at the widows, till he should be successful, as he said, in purchasing a farm in this neighbourhood, informed us, that two past three Massachusetts men, amongst whom one of his Brothers, had taken an accurate view of the tract from this point between the Canada-creek, then westward between the wood and fish-creek, and considered it upon the whole so valuable that they had offered to purchase a whole Town-ship, to pay a £1000 by the deed of the Land, and the residue within a year, obliging themselves further, to settle it before April 1794 with thirty-five families.

We heard this identical tract described by others, ardently, perhaps, desiring to take it in their grasp, described as an indifferent tract of land, remarkably chiefly for its hemlock, pine and swamps, which, perhaps! might fall short in defraying the expences of its survey. This difference of opinion can only

accounted for in one way—not that judgment was biassed, but that secret motives induced the one and the other to overrate or underrate Lands, to facilitate its sale or purchase—*come and see* then and examine for yourself and your friends.

Fuller tacked his old horse to our canoe, and dragged it to Fort Bull; here I strode on poor Ronzinante—step by step—towards Fort Stanwix, where the Baron, after a little while, arrived, having left our canoe and baggage one mile from the carrying place, by want of water. The canoe arrived next morning. We dined, in part on the new potatoes of Des Watines, the well-come cup flowed over, and I sincerely thanked the Baron for his hospitable reception—for his manifold services and entertaining society—during a journey which required such a good companion to smooth its roughness. His Lady was by her attention entitled to the same civilities. We took a cordial farewell. I stept on my horse, which was neat and plumb, rode to Whites-borough, visited Mr Platt—once to be compared to Noord-kerk of Amsterdam—and then made a call to the good hearted Hugh White, asked for their commands, and slept that night at old Fort Schuyler by Mr Hansje Post. I was again on horseback early in the morning on Friday, and crossed the river. My oiled silk surtout coat defended me from the rain, which continued, without interruption from five till eight. I had missed the road near the German flatts, but met good People, who with kindness convinced me, that I was on a bye-path. They had observed my inattentive mean, and asked where I went to? I crossed again the Mohawk, took breakfeast at M^{r} Aldritz visited the Rev. Rosekrantz, and arrived at Cap^{t} Bellinger's where I obtained for my dinner good chicken-broth. I stept at four on my horse, associated to another traveller, passed Canajoharí, baited our horses by Hudson, crossed the Mohawk for the last time, tarried about an hour at the widow Schuylers, and slept that night nine miles further at Bankert's-inn—much fatigued and thoroughly wet by a copious perspiration.

The sight of several fields, from which they were reaping the rye, of others where the sheaves stood in array, made me double my speed. Looking steadily forward, and little caring of what I left behind, I discovered first at Simon Veder's at Cagnawagha that I had left my spurrs—it was fortunate, that I was not in want of these for my good horse. I breakfeasted at Putnam's on Trip's hill, stained over noon at Mabee's, six miles from Schenectadi—with out tasting a morsel, providing quietly for my beast, as the Landlady declined the trouble to prepare a roasted chicken for my dinner. I might have got some pork! I enjoyed the satisfaction to find the Rev. Romeyn with his Lady and family in a perfect health. A good dish of tea with the delightful society of that respectable clergyman revived my spirits, so that I passed two agreeable hours with Him. I rode the same evening yet five miles further, and was before eight next morning under the hospitable roof of my worthy friend Dr Mancius.

The Rev. de Ronde—a clergyman of four score years, who expatriated from one of the Land-Provinces, and settled in this State, many years past, was to officiate in the Dutch Church. I was tempted to be one of his hearers. His subject was rich enough "Who shall show us, what is good? Let the light of your countenance arise upon us O Lord!" a Bonnet—a Hulshoft—a Chevalier would have delivered a masterpiece. The good old Father, I believe, did as well as he could. But—accustomed as I was, to dainties, it was a hard fare to digest a coarser meed. In this respect, my Dear Sir! the time for our adopted country is *yet* to come—and I doubt not it will—but thus far, we are yet behind. I must acknowledge, however, I did not hear your New York clergy. If I had done so, I might have been prompted by justice to a recantation.

I retreated after dinner, in silence, from the city, with the fear of the constable, ignorant, that I did attend Divine Worship in the morning, continually before my eyes. Slept at Cosachie and rode early on Monday morning through an incessant rain

to Mr. Sax in the Imbogt. Let not your warm imagination make you suppose, that your learned Sax of Utrecht, whose talents I so often admired, and who deserved so well the applause, which he earned by his *Onomasticon*, had transplanted himself in the neighbourhood of the beautiful Hudson—then you could not have been long in suspense, while I made such a speed towards his house: no Sir! It was the honest and industrious Hans Sax, perhaps descending from the same lineage. My breakfeast was soon in readiness, and I could not deny him the satisfaction, to give him the outlines of my excursion. From here I continued my route to Cap^{t} Hendrick Schoonmaker—where I took a dish of tea, till a heavy thunder shower should have passed. My patience was exhausted at lenght, as the day was far gone, and submitted to ride nine miles further through a violent rain, before I could reach my dwelling. But not one single drop made any impression, except on my hat, face and hands, thanks to my sillk oiled coat!

Joy was legible in every countenance—my heart was glad and thankful, when I did see me so cordially received—when I felt myself embraced with so much tenderness by all, who were so dear to me.

My dear John alone suffered under an intermittent fever, but that unwelcome visitor left us ere long, so that every thing is again in its old train: the Children at school,—Father in the field. Mother unwearied attentive to her many domestic concerns—all is bustle:—Ten loads of hay, eleven of rye, and fourteen of wheat are secured; the remainder mowed and reaped in the field—so that I must take hold of a few moments, early in the morning and late at evening

My companion, more sanguine in his projects, and more ardent in their pursuit, had a much higher conception of this tract than your friend: to Him it was superior far exceeding all what he had seen in situation—in luxuriant fertility—in natural riches. No doubt it was gifted with it; it might by an active industry be transformed in an Eden! It may be so: it may

be, that his views are nearer the truth: He had been on that spot before me, but it did not appear to me under such high glowing colours. I did see some very indifferent parts. I meant, to have discovered several barren spots: but in what tract of land—extended to 6 or 700,000 acres shall similar spots not be discovered. Perhaps these may even exist to a much larger amount, than I do suspect, where we did not penetrate. The soil in my opinion is even less rich than that in Whites-town and at the Oriskany creek, but its cultivation shall be easier; it shall not bake, it shall not be hardened in the same manner in a dry season.

I visited and examined this tract with the view to fix there my permanent residence, and obtain a valuable possession for my children, and your family. My Dear Friend had allways an equal share in these my contemplations and pursuits. I did not shrink at meeting in face some hardships, but visited it, and endeavoured to examine it, from creek to creek—not only near the water side, but often several miles in the interior, to obtain a sufficient correct knowledge of its situation, of its real and relative value; and in this mind I do not hesitate, to make you this frank and honest confession, that I have not yet encountered in this state an equal extensive tract of land, on which I should prefer to end my course—if joined by a few respectable families, in the vicinity of a tolerable settlement, of which, if my wealth was equal to its acquisition, I should, in preference to all, which I have yet seen, desire to secure its possession.

All the informations, which I have been able to collect, are in unison with my views, so that hereabout shall be the happy limit of our wanderings under Gods blessing. Several families have engaged to move thither, if I can procure them Lands at a moderate prize. Give now once more a proof of that undaunted courage, so often tried, and found adequate to the task, you manly engage in. Here the execution is chiefly in our hands:—who could hesitate, who crossed the Atlantic—not

for the sake of lucre, but to secure for himself and his family an asylum against civil and religious oppression. You do not yet regret this step, and then I advised you to follow my example, and so you did. Here I may speak with greater confidence. I have been on the spot without intrest—unprejudiced—as our actual residence is certainly desirable in several points of view; there all its improvements are of my own creation, not without great expences, not without unrelenting personal exertions. There, I am first beginning to gather the fruits of my labour, and have the well-grounded prospect of increasing advantages—there I am surrounded by kind neighbours, and at no great distance by respectable families, who treat us rather as near relations than as strangers, whose good will and kindnesses we have earned, and as we flatter ourselves, secured. But you—my Dear Sir! knew too well, that I have not yet learned to go by halves—that reluctantly I submit to disappointments, and venture rather a fresh struggle—whatever may be the risk, than to give up a well digested plan; you know, that the yet required expensive, extended improvements are made impossible, though not thro' my own fault, neglect or carelessness, but happy for me, through them in whom I placed an unbounded confidence.

Inform me of your plan and sentiments without disguise. My determination may be modified; it cannot be shaken.

Adio— Your's

Sincerely

EDITOR'S NOTES.

THESE letters form a Journal of a tour by the author, from the Hudson to Lake Ontario, in the year 1792. They constitute one of several volumes of manuscripts entitled "The Vanderkemp Papers," presented to the Buffalo Historical Society by the author's granddaughter, Mrs. Pauline E. Henry of Philadelphia.

The following letter of "Hibernicus" (De Witt Clinton) published in the Albany *Statesman*, sixty years ago, will greatly enhance the interest and authority of this Journal; for the "elder gentleman" referred to and described, is the author, Francis Adrian Vanderkemp, LL. D., or, as a MS. letter now in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society (without signature, but written by Mr. Clinton himself, as a comparison of handwriting shows), enclosing to him the identical newspaper cutting from which this letter is here printed, declares, "*Mr. Vanderkemp sat for the picture;*" to which is added, "*the likeness is a correct one.*" And the younger gentleman is Col. Adam G. Mappa, the friend to whom nearly thirty years before, the Journal was addressed, in the form of letters; the two having finally taken up their abode at Olden Barneveld, later, and now, Trenton Village, Oneida Co., N. Y.

The story of Dr. Vanderkemp's life is exceedingly interesting, as related in his manuscript autobiography, addressed to his son, Maj. John J. Vanderkemp, of Philadelphia, and forming a volume of the "Vanderkemp Papers." Indeed, the story is too interesting to be merely summarized, and when given to the public should be published complete. Its chief points are, however, touched and brought to view correctly in Mr. Clinton's graceful and warm-hearted letter.

[FOR THE NEW YORK STATESMAN.]

LETTER XLIX.

WESTERN REGION, September, 1820.

MY DEAR SIR: In one of my solitary walks with my gun on my shoulder and my dog by my side, I strayed eight or ten miles from my lodgings; and, as I was musing on the beauties of the country, and meditating on the various and picturesque scenes which were constantly unfolding, I was roused from my reverie by voices which proceeded from persons at a short distance. In casting my eyes in that direction, I saw two venerable men with fishing rods in their hands, angling for trout, in a copious and pellucid stream which

rolled at their feet. I was hailed by them, and requested to approach, which I immediately did; and in exchanging salutations, I found that they were men of the world, perfectly acquainted with the courtesies of life. One of them held up a string of fine trout, and asked me in the most obliging manner to go home with them, and partake of the fruits of their amusement. Struck with the appearance of the strangers, and anxious to avail myself of the pleasure of their company, I did not hesitate to accept of this hospitable offer, on condition that they would permit me to add the wood-cock, snipe and wood-ducks which were suspended from my gun, to their acquisitions. This offer was kindly accepted. A general and desultory conversation ensued, and we arrived in a short time at a small village; and, on ascending the steps of an elegant house, I was congratulated by my new friends on my entry into Olden Barneveld. In the course of an hour, dinner was served up: I sat down and enjoyed a treat worthy to be compared to the Symposion of Plato. I soon found that these venerable friends were emigrants from Holland—that they were men of highly cultivated minds, and polished manners—and that they had selected their habitations in this place, where they enjoyed

> "An elegant sufficiency, content,
> Retirement, rural quiet, friendship, books,
> Ease and alternate labour, useful life,
> Progressive virtue and approving Heaven."

The elder of these gentlemen had received the best education which Holland could afford. He was brought up a clergyman, and, at the commencement of the American Revolution, he became its enthusiastic and energetic advocate, and wrote an able work in vindication of its character and conduct. In the struggles which subsequently took place in his native country, he sided with the patriots. His friend held a high military office during that commotion, and unites the frankness of a soldier and the refinement of a gentleman, with the erudition of a scholar.

During their residence in this country, they have been attentive to its interests. As far back as 1795, the elder gentleman proposed an Agricultural Society for this district, and addressed it in a luminous speech.

I was penetrated with the most profound respect, when I witnessed the various and extensive acquirements of this man. He is a perfect master of all the Greek and Roman authors—skilled in Hebrew, the Syriac, and the other oriental languages—with the German and French he is perfectly acquainted. His mind is a great and inexhaustible storehouse of knowledge; and I could perceive no deficiency, except in his not being perfectly acquainted with the modern discoveries in natural science, which arises in a great degree from his sequestered life. He manages an extensive correspondence with many learned men in Europe, as well as America. And, although I had never heard of him before, yet I am happy to understand that his merits are justly appreciated by some of the first men in this country.

He has lately been complimented with a degree of Doctor of Laws by a celebrated university of New England. He is now employed by the State of New York in translating its Dutch Records—and, through the munificence of David Parish, the great banker, he will be enabled to have transcripts of the Records of the Dutch West India Company to fill up an important chasm in the history of this great State.

Thus, my friend, I have made a great discovery. In a secluded, unassuming village, I have discovered *the most learned man in America*, cultivating, like our first Parent, his beautiful and spacious garden with his own hands—cultivating literature and science—cultivating the virtues which adorn the fire-side and the altar—cultivating the esteem of the wise and the good—and blessing with the radiations of his illumined and highly gifted mind, all who enjoy his conversation, and who are honoured by his correspondence.

I am, &c., HIBERNICUS.

It was at first intended only to publish a portion of the Journal here presented. But it was found difficult to select for this purpose without marring the completeness of the whole.

The utmost care has been taken to reproduce the production exactly; for the methods of punctuation, capitalization and spelling, and the quaint forms and turns of expression which everywhere appear, and would be serious faults in an Englishman or American, here only serve to mark the genuineness of the writing as the work of a Hollander, using a foreign adopted language; this being only one, however, of the many, ancient and modern, with which he was, perhaps, equally familiar; while its interest for the reader is certainly thus greatly increased.

To break the page with notes, or even with references to notes, is undesirable, unless necessary; and would especially injure a manuscript so clear and unblemished as that here printed. Such remarks then, as it has seemed best to make, have been collected as part of this Note, and are given below, grouped according to the several pages of this volume which they elucidate.

This Journal furnishes a most interesting example, which the account of the writer's life would render all the more striking, of the influences which were at work in the latter part of the last century, leading to the settlement of this western part of the country in the beginning, and to the extension of settlements westward. The devotion to conscientiously cherished views of truth, the close observation, the wise judgment, the prophetic foresight, the enthusiasm, the spirit of self-sacrifice, perseverance and faith, manifested in maintaining positions assumed and courses entered upon, here exemplified, deserve to be recalled and regarded with admiration by those of later days, and recognized with thankfulness among those influences which have given to us this fair heritage.

One point it will be desirable to notice here, apart from such reference to it as is made in the following remarks. At page 40 the reader will find remarkable and truly poetical foreshadowings of the great Erie Canal, which would appear to be original and independent forecasts of that magnificent work; such, however, as it may be obvious that a Hollander, from the land of artificial watercourses, might be most likely to think of, and set forth. The subject thus introduced, is further exhibited in relation, especially, to the question as to the origination of the idea of the Erie Canal, in papers appearing later in this volume.

It is of interest and proper here to mention, that Mrs. Thomas J. Sizer, of Buffalo, is a granddaughter of Col. Mappa, the recipient of these Journal-Letters.

SPECIAL NOTES.

In the preparation of these, great assistance has been derived from manuscript notes, obligingly furnished, expressly for this publication, by B. B. Burt, Esq., of Oswego, N. Y., an authority of the first order in regard to matters historical and topographical, concerning the region visited by Dr. Vanderkemp. The notes furnished by him are designated (B. B. B.)

PAGE 33. The manuscript title-page to the bound copy of this Journal is as follows: "*Letters to Col. Adam G. Mappa, on a Tour through a part of the Western Destrict.*" This indefinite term, it will be noticed, is that used by DeWitt Clinton in dating his letter above given. Its general meaning will be apparent to any who observe upon the map that central portion of the State, surrounding Rome, Utica, *Trenton Village*, and neighboring places.

The title page also bears this Latin motto:

> "Non ego Romulea, miror, quod Pastor in urbe
> Sceptra gerat. Pastor conditor urbis erat.
> G Buchanani, Frat. Fraer: p. 36."

This may be thus, perhaps a little freely, rendered :

> In Romulus' town, I wonder not, to-day,
> To find the field-bred shepherd bearing sway ;
> Why, since he *built*, should he not *rule* it, pray ?

PAGE 38. The passage on inland transportation by water through the State of New York, beginning, "*Our inland navigation,*" may be properly connected with Col. Wm. A. Bird's paper on "Early New York State Transportation," in this volume, pp. 17–32. And it should be observed here how perfectly and beautifully this whole passage (pp. 38–41), notably the paragraph beginning, "*Give me the disposal of fifty New York purses,*" foreshadows the plan, and the spirit that executed the plan, of the great Erie Canal !

——— "*Fort Stanwix*" is now Rome, Oneida Co., N. Y.

PAGE 39. "*Fort Brewerton*" was and is at the west end of Oneida Lake.

——— line 15. (B. B. B.) "*So much is certain, &c.*" The appropriation here mentioned was for the use of the "Western Inland Lock Navigation Co.," which completed the canal in 1797. (See Vol. I., p. 159. *Ed.*)

PAGE 40.

> "——— *Tutto*"
> *Si puo, quando si vuole,*"

Quite freely rendered is, "There's a way where there's a will."

——— "*Fossa Drusiana.*" The canal dug by the Roman General Drusus, connecting the Rhine and Yssel rivers, called also "Fossa Drusi."

The word fossa (foss or ditch) may suggest that the name given to the Erie Canal of "Clinton's ditch," had, after all, a classic origin.

——— "*Niewer Sluys*" is the new sluice, channel, canal.

———"*Cajus Popilius.*" When Antiochus Epiphanes was besieging Alexandrea during his differences with Cleopatra and Ptolemy, Caius Popilius Lænas, one of three deputies from the Roman Senate, arrived, and communicated a decree that Antiochus should make peace with Ptolemy, and leave Egypt. He sought to elude the decree by evasive answers, when Popilius haughtily drew a circle round him in the sand with a rod which he held in his hand, and ordered the monarch to give him an answer to carry home to the Senate, before he stirred out of that circle. The astonished king hesitated, but soon obeyed and evacuated Egypt.

PAGE 46. The "*Grooten Imbogt*" means the *great bend.*

PAGES 47 AND 102. "*Rev. Romeyn.*" This is the Rev. Dirck Romeyn, the seventh pastor of the First Church of Schenectady. The Two-hundredth Anniversary of this church, lately passed, occasioned a historical discourse by Rev. W. E. Griffis, the present pastor, of much interest; in which occurs a tribute to Mr. Romeyn, portions of which may be very suitably placed as a part of this note. To him "Schenectady owes grateful memory for having given it the first impulse to systematic public education. He took the lead in this State in the support and patronage of classical learning; in securing the freedom of the Dutch Church in America from that of Holland; with the aid of Livingston, in writing her Constitution and establishing her Theological Seminary (the oldest in America), and in organizing the Foreign Missionary work for all Christians. * * * He was the last of the line of preachers in Dutch. He himself often preached in English, settled the battle of the tongues, and persuaded the people to realize that they were no longer Dutch, Scotch or English, but for all time American. * * * At Dr. Romeyn's instance, under his influence and chairmanship, a meeting of the citizens was called in 1784, to build an Academy which was to become a College. * * * After ten years of prosperity, and through the prominent influence of Dr. Romeyn, aided greatly by Governor Yates, the Charter of Union College was obtained."

PAGE 48. Bringing together the three italicised words, "*cani*," "*jouve*," "*heura*," and pronouncing them quickly in succession as one word, giving the sound of long "i" to *eu* in *heura*, the name Canajoharie is very readily suggested, meaning, nearly, Sing of joy (or joyfully), Hurrah!

PAGES 51, 54 AND 101. (B. B. B.) "*Hugh White*," in 1798 was appointed one of the Judges of the Oneida Common Pleas.

———(B. B. B.) "*Mr. Jonas Platt*," was appointed Clerk of Herkimer

County, in 1798; and in the same year, on the organization of Oneida County, was appointed Clerk of that county, and in 1814 appointed a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York.

PAGES 51 AND 101. (B. B. B.) "*Old Fort Schuyler.*" This was at Utica, and the railroad depot there is on the site of it.

PAGE 52.

"*Alfana vient d'equus, &c.*"

This may be thus rendered:

Alfana comes from *equus*, without doubt;
But then we must, to speak the truth, declare,
The way they take is very *round-about*,
Who, in their journeying hither, come from there.

PAGES 59 AND 101. (B. B. B.) The "*Fort Bull*" mentioned here was at the Mohawk River terminus of the carrying place between that river and Wood Creek, about two and one-half miles west of Fort Stanwix.

PAGE 63, 7th line from bottom. "*The Onondago and Oswego Rivers.*" See Note by B. B. B., page 97.

PAGE 76. "*Suo se virtute involvens*," means, Wrapping himself in his own excellence.

"*Ce peuple, &c.*"

The sense of this may be thus given:

A pleasant people, fond of th' arts;
Sedate or frivolous, by starts;
As by a hundred winds they're borne,
And a light hand their course can turn:
The sport of every novelty,
By character they're vain and gay,
Yet reasoning in their vanity.

PAGE 80, line 11. "*The largest and most westerly Island.*" See Note to page 97, by B. B. B.

PAGE 88, line 17. (B. B. B.) "*Arrived in Oswego, &c.*" Oswego remained in possession of the British until July 15th, 1796, when it was surrendered under Jay's Treaty. (See Vol. I, pp. 158-9. *Ed.*)

PAGE 89. (B. B. B.) "*Two fortifications, &c.*" Vanderkemp refers to two fortifications at Oswego (as I understand it) at the commencement of his letter. He is *mixed* in his history of the facts. That "*to the south*" called "Fort Oswego," was constructed under Colonial Governor Burnet in 1727, to strengthen the trading-post here. It was taken by Montcalm in August, 1756, destroyed and never rebuilt. That "*to the north*," was "Fort Ontario" (see Vol. I, p. 215. *Ed.*) built by the English under Lieut. Col. Mercer, between the Fall of 1755 and Summer of 1756 (see Smollett's History of England), attacked by Montcalm and taken in August, 1756, destroyed and abandoned by the French, and soon thereafter taken possession of by the British, rebuilt, and occupied by them until surrendered

EXTRACT FROM A SURVEY IN 1792.

THE following paper, being a copy of an old document of 1792, furnished by B. B. Burt, Esq., in addition to the Notes above inserted, is of sufficient interest, as bearing upon some points in them alluded to, to warrant its insertion here. Errors in spelling &c., are, however, corrected, Mr. Cockburn being doubtless a better surveyor than writer. The remarks inserted between brackets are by Mr. Burt.

Remarks copied from "A survey of a tract of land, the property of John and Nicholas Roosevelt & Co., containing 538,966 acres. Surveyed A. Domini, 1792.

Pr. JAMES COCKBURN, D. S."

"It would be needless here to give the courses and distances run in our traverse along Canada Creek, Wood Creek, Oneyda Lake, Onondaga River and Lake Ontario, as it neither tends to the amusement or knowledge of my employers. Let it suffice to say that we have traversed them all, and shall give a general description which will answer every purpose requisite to convey an idea of the quality and value of the soil, &c.

The land along the west side of Canada Creek from the northwest corner of Funda's [Fonda's?] patent to where it empties into Wood Creek, appears to be good. It is, in general, a grey loam, but in some places is clay. As far as I have been back from the creek this land continues. But I am told at some distance further is a very bad cedar swamp. Although the distance from here to Fort Stanwix is not great, yet the passage is barred by a most tremendous cedar swamp. There is no other way into this reach (or any part of it), but by going either by Armstrong's (to which there is a good road), or by the north bounds of Funda's patent. The timber is beech, maple, birch, basswood, ash and hemlock, and some buttonwood along the creek. The salmon comes up the Canada Creek about three miles in June; they are likewise caught in November. There was a weir formerly at the mouth of the creek where numbers were caught; it is now down. At the junction of Canada Creek and Wood Creek is a good farm, possessed by widow Armstrong; she has about twenty acres cleared, and it is a good situation for business, it being always a halting place for batteaux. The land from here all the way along Wood Creek is very fine from twenty to two hundred yards on the north side of the creek; and there is a very bad cedar swamp which extends back some distance; and behind that is a pine ridge which passengers generally take in coming up the creek, it being much

shorter and less tedious than coming up in a boat. There is no plain path marked. I am doubtful whether a settlement could be made along Wood Creek, the good land being so narrow; and I imagine that in high water it is all overflowed; in which case there is no retreat, the swamp being lower than other land where they must build. Mr. James Dean, the Oneida Interpreter, formerly settled about a mile above Fish Creek, where the vestiges of his improvements are to be seen. I am informed he quit the land on account of its being so much overflowed. Fish Creek where it empties into Wood Creek is a fine stream, and water enough for vessels of any burthen. I am told that boats can go up above fourteen miles. From the mouth of Fish Creek to the mouth of Wood Creek the land is very low and swampy. Opposite the mouth is a bar from four to six feet of water. Last war the British had a flat bottomed boat, carrying 60 oxen, that went over this. Therefore, no obstruction to the navigation of the lake. Wood Creek at present is so crooked and so full of timber that it is with difficulty a common batteau can pass. From the mouth of Wood Creek for two miles along the Oneyda Lake is low, swampy land, some pine timber. But after the course of the lake turns to the west it is in general high land, but not mountainous. To Fisher's Bay Creek the soil is good, but in some places stony. Timber chiefly white oak, black oak, hickory and some few pines. There are two brooks besides Fisher's Bay, which I suppose large enough for mills. Fisher's Bay contains water enough all the year. The situation is unhealthy. Bruce is settled at the last mentioned creek; he lives by fishing; raises nothing. From Fisher's Bay to Fort Brewington [Brewerton?] the land in general is very swampy. In the deep bay is one of the worst swamps I ever saw. I am told it goes a great way back, is lower than the lake; makes it incapable of being drained. Here we had to traverse and chain with two canoes, the swamp being impassable.

Fort Brewington is now in ruins. It was a square without bastions, mounting four guns, and commanded the river. It is in Staats' location. Bingham lives here. It is a good stand. There are two islands in the lake; the one about thirty, the other about twenty acres. On the westermost lives a Frenchman and his family. There is no harbor on either of the islands for boats, and the beach is very stony. The soil of both islands is good. There are likewise three small ridges which are just above water, and on each is a single tree. There is no verdure on them. The tree has a pretty effect to the eye. In June they are frequented for eggs, which the gulls and ducks lay here in abundance, below high-water mark. The land from Fort Brewington to three rivers is, in general, good. About eight miles from Fort Brewington is a fine spring, which is very uncommon in this country, I having seen no good water since I left Fort Stanwix. Even the creeks which

run into the lake, coming from the swamp, are very indifferent water. There is but one rapid in this, called Kequanderaga; the passage is not difficult. About four miles from Three Rivers is a creek called Peter Gaats. The country hereabout is swampy, and where I have been, back from the river, but indifferent.

At Three River Point, Barker lives on the military tract. Here the Seneca river comes in, which opens the communication with the Onondaga, Cayuga and Seneca lakes. Two miles below this is a rapid called Three River Rift, and very dangerous for batteaux in low water. The passage from thence to Oswego or Onondaga Falls [now Oswego Falls] is pretty good; the land, too, is in some places swampy, but generally pretty good. The land by the falls is a State reservation. There is here a fine place for a mill. The British had a saw-mill here, and a fort to protect the portage, which is two chains. But the rapid, with dangerous rocks, continues a mile below the carrying place, and is not to be attempted without a pilot. The country here abounds with pine, and the falls abound with Sturgeon, Catfish, Oswego Bass and Salmon. The Indians spear them coming up the falls. This they do with great dexterity. From the falls to Oswego the land is high, and in general a good soil, but in some places broken. The streams from the falls to Oswego are but small. Oswego Fort ["Fort Ontario"] stands at the entrance of the river which it commands. I think a brig may come into the harbor with a north wind; the entrance is difficult. The commanding officer would not allow me to survey within reach of his guns; we, however got near enough to make several [observations] on the flag staff, and I believe the point is laid down pretty exact. The fort is an irregular pentagon, and is garrisoned by a company of the royal Americans and a few artillerymen. It is in very bad repair, and, I am informed, mounts not more than four carriage guns. At present the barracks is capable of containing a Regiment. There are no houses or inhabitants without the fort, and a custom-house officer resides in the fort to stop any prohibited articles passing from the States to the British Colony. There is a great plenty of very fine fish here. They have a seine, but the soldiers catch more with hook and line than they can use. Two miles from Oswego is Two-Mile Pond, which is a swamp overflowed in spring and fall, which appears to continue some ways back. This place is sometimes called the French Landing. The land from here to Nine-Mile Point is, in general, good, and covered with beech and maple timber. The streams running into the lake are but small, and I think the land must be but poorly watered. After passing the point the land begins to be swampy, and continues so at intervals to Little Salmon Creek, which is a fine harbor with eight foot water at the bar, but very narrow. From here the soil is poor, and in some places sandy, to Salmon Creek [now

Salmon River], a good deal of Hemlock timber. There are nevertheless several fine brooks. I think mill places scarce in this country [A great mistake.] The appearance of the water makes me believe most of the streams come from swamps, and from the levelness of the country I should imagine falls not often to be met with in this part of the country."

AN HISTORICAL ESSAY.

THE GERMANS OF BUFFALO.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, APRIL 27, 1880.

BY ISMAR S. ELLISON.

Cœlum, non animum mutant,
*Qui trans mare currunt.**—HORACE.

THE Buffalo Historical Society having for its purpose, "to discover, procure, and preserve whatsoever may relate to the history of Western New York in general, and of the City of Buffalo in particular," and, "of procuring and preserving authentic memorials of the history of the settlement of the city and county, and of the individuals who were its pioneers, and gave tone, direction, and character to its early history," the scope of its historical researches ought also to embrace that class of our population, though of foreign birth, who were among the very pioneers of our early settlers; and those individuals who, with their descendants, claim more than half of our present population, and who gave and give a very decided tone, direction and character to the history of Buffalo and her local affairs—I mean the German Americans. To supplement in this direction the excellent papers which have been read before this Society, is the aim of the Essay which I have the

* They who across the ocean range,
Their sky, not disposition, change.—*Ed.*

honor to read to you to-night. And, if it should be found wanting in its results, I may be allowed to add, rather by way of explanation than vindication, that this is the very first attempt at a history of the Germans of Buffalo; that I had personally and alone to collect almost all the material for the structure of this Essay; that no resources whatever, in a literary sense, were at my command, and that while some gentlemen very readily placed their reminiscences at my disposal, but very few of our German clergy favored me with a helping hand in regard to statistical information about their churches and congregations, seemingly regarding my polite and earnest request for certain facts and figures as an unwarrantable infringement upon their *dolce far niente*.

German immigration to this State dates back to the beginning of the last century. More correctly, it constituted colonization; for the first Germans were shipped to New York—shipped like cattle—by the British government, to be colonized in this State, not for the welfare of the immigrants, but as victims for British greed. The indescribable vandalism of the French armies, under Turenne, in those nefarious robber-wars against South Germany on the one hand, and the brutal oppression and criminal extortion and extravagance of the petty tyrants—at best but aping French despotism—on the other, drove the exasperated and desperate peasantry of South Germany, especially that of the Palatinate, which was most exposed to the vandalism of the French robber-armies, by thousands and thousands, to England, whence the British government shipped them to New York, and colonized them on the upper Hudson for the purpose of making tar for the British navy. Domestic tyranny they had escaped, but they had not exchanged it for a better lot. The insolent British officers who were charged with overseeing their work, held them in almost abject servitude, and in the thievish avarice of the landed aristocracy, who cheated them most mercilessly in supplying their little daily wants, they had an after-taste of the

extortion which the foreign enemy at home had subjected them to. But their spirit of independence, once aroused, revolted against such treatment; they left their settlements, and in the Schoharie Valley built up new homes, amidst the greatest hardships imaginable. But here, too, they were persecuted by their heartless, merciless and avaricious tormentors. Once more they abandoned their homesteads, and part of them crossed the boundary of the State and settled in Pennsylvania, thus becoming the ancestors of the so-called Pennsylvania Dutchmen, while the others bargained for and obtained the Mohawk Valley for a new domicile. The Germans in the Mohawk Valley became, as is indelibly inscribed on the pages of the history of this country, the van-guard of the American Revolution. To them our country owes Gen. Herkimer, the hero of the battle of Oriskany. The glorious Revolutionary War did not have more steadfast adherents to, and more loyal fighters for the cause of Independence, than those sturdy Palatines in New York and Pennsylvania. The New York Palatines are immortalized through Gen. Herkimer, and the Pennsylvania through Friedrich August Muehlenberg, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and the first Speaker of the House of Representatives. Whoever, therefore, undertakes to stigmatize the Germans in this country as Hessians, simply exposes his profound ignorance of the history of this country to well-deserved ridicule.

The German immigration to the Queen City of the Lakes does not antedate the second decade of the present century. Neither was it a mass immigration or colonization, as that of first German settlers in this country. Solitary they struggled to the shore of Lake Erie, some stray wanderers of the settlements in Pennsylvania. The first to enter the then village of Buffalo was *John Kuecherer*, still generally remembered as Water-John, so called because he represented the quasi water works of Buffalo, *i. e.*, he was the water-carrier of the village. He came here in 1821. About the antecendents of this first

German immigrant there is little, if anything, known. Not even his oldest child, a daughter, who is still living here, is able to give any information on that point. It is a characteristic feature in nearly all the children of all our old pioneers, this ignorance of their parental past, just as much as their estrangement to the mother-tongue. But it seems that Mr. Kuecherer had belonged to one of those emigration caravans which, all through the last century, from causes stated above, were driven from the Palatinate to England, and from there shipped to this country. He first had settled with his countrymen in Pennsylvania, and from there made his way to Buffalo, where he halted, and ended his days but a few years ago, at the advanced age of eighty-eight.

A year later, in 1822, the second German settled here, *Jacob Siebold*, who is also still widely remembered as one of our most energetic business men. He kept a grocery store on Main street, next to Hayen's present iron structure. He gained considerable wealth, having been one of the founders of the Board of Trade, and a director of the Buffalo Savings Bank.

The third German came like the first, from the Palatine settlement in Pennsylvania, but considerably later, about 1826. He became the proprietor of the Cold Springs Hotel, and introduced the first beer here, therewith paving the way in this then western wilderness for a new factor of culture, or at least a very flourishing and civilizing trade, which has become now-a-days a source of great prosperity to our community; for wherever Germans are they will surely build a homestead for Gambrinus, and where there is beer, there are Germans near. This beverage, so much decried, yet a recognized wholesome and strengthening stimulant, has certainly exerted a very benevolent, civilizing influence. It has cornered the whiskey demon and almost driven him to the wall. The name of the first brewer here was Baer. So little, however, of him has come down to posterity, that not even his Christian name is remembered any more. Of course, it was not such excellent lager

as we are accustomed to in our days, that Mr. Baer brewed. It was that light, mild—I had almost said tea-rum like—beverage, called in North Germany, Kutscher-Bier, because it is drank on account of its cheapness, mostly, by Kutschers (hack drivers.)

Simultaneously, another German, Philip Meyerhoffer, made Buffalo his home; who is recorded in the first Village Directory of 1827, a teacher of language. He it was, also, who conducted the first German Protestant divine service here.

If other Germans had at that time resided in Buffalo, there is no trace nor remembrance left of them. Long before Horace Greeley uttered his memorable "Young man, go West," had the Germans acted on his advice; and there is not a western State where the Germans have not been among its pioneers. Buffalo, at that time, that is fifty-five years ago, was a western point, and it is most likely that as soon as "Clinton's ditch" was ready to convey the immigrants continuously west, they availed themselves of this opportunity. Besides, Mr. E. G. Grey, who came here in the Spring of '28, is positive in his memory, that he had already found seventy Germans settled here. Although Mr. Grey's assertion is not borne out by the first Village Directory, it will nevertheless not lose much of its credit; for that Directory is a very unreliable historical source, especially as to the then German inhabitants, and this for several reasons: 1. It is but natural to suppose that the German immigrants, at that time, were very poor fellows, who hired out here and there to do the most menial work, and who, on account of their unacquaintance with the language, and the, to them, entirely strange surroundings, shunned all intercourse with their American neighbors. Therefore, it may have happened in nine out of ten cases, that those shy foreigners escaped the attention of the enumerators for that Directory. 2. It may also be assumed with certainty, that the compilers of that Directory were not perfect linguists, and for that reason mutilated some German names beyond recognition, or misspelled others

according to the sound, and thereby anglicized them beyond the possible recovery of their identity. Take, for instance, the well-known name of John Kuecherer. It is spelt in the first Directory as Kucherson, in the second, Kutcherson, and so on, not once right. Mr. Siebold's name is always recorded as Seibold. Well, the misspelling of the German diphthong *ie* is an inveterate, almost undestroyable, weakness with our Americans. Add to this the tendency of a great many Germans, to anglicize their names themselves. For instance, Mr. Grau wants to be Mr. Grey; Mr. Kunz, Mr. Koons; Mr. Nuss, Mr. Nice; Mr. Reich, Mr. Rich, &c. Then it must be readily conceded, that in an American Directory not all English-sounding names belong to genuine American-born inhabitants. Ten to one, a *Cheeseman* has been transformed from the German "Kaesemann"; *Friday* has been metamorphosed from "Freitag"; and under the transposed *Kline*, sticks a German "Klein." At least a dozen names can, therefore, in the first Directory, be reclaimed as of German origin.

The first immigration in a body arrived in 1827. It comprised, among others whose names have been lost to memory, the Bronner family, of which Christian Bronner is still surviving, he being thus the oldest German settler alive. In the following year, however, 1828, the immigration poured in like a rapid stream, which, since then, steadily increased in the years of 1830, 1840 and 1850, but fell off afterwards, and has now almost entirely ceased, but for a few stragglers.

In that year came E. G. Grey, well-known to the student of local history as a ready and obliging informant, still hearty and vigorous; also Jacob Schenzin, widely and honorably known in this community, who gave Buffalo the first taste of genuine lager, and to whose "Wirthschaft" the Germans, in years past, were wont to undertake pilgrimages; another well-known brewer, Jacob Roos, whose name is preserved in Roos Street, also came in that year; Philip Beyer, the head of a now very numerous family, well stocked with political as well as social

distinctions; George Goetz, George Metzger, Michael Hoiss, George Hoiss and Christopher Klump; the last six named being the first Germans who bought homesteads from the Holland Land Company. In the same year, quite a number of Alsacians domiciled here. There was Michael Mesmer, who formerly in political circles was known as a representative German; Joseph Haberstro, the father of our ex-sheriff; Anthony Feldman, the father of one of our present Justices of the Peace; George Gass, the grandfather of the well-known flour dealer, Mr. Urban; Mr. Pfeifer, father of Mrs. Philip Beyer; George Long, Joseph Suor, Sebastian and Friederich Rusch, Singer, and several others.

The early settlers recruited themselves almost exclusively from South Germany and Alsace. This is a remarkable, but nevertheless an easily explainable, historical fact. The causes which led to the early mass emigration from South Germany have been briefly touched upon. They were the brutal and extravagant despotism of its petty princes, and the economical ruin which this political system of oppression and the devastation of almost continuous wars brought upon the peasantry. Now, North Germany was also ruled by the iron hand of despotism, but it was an intelligent one; while that of South Germany was criminally stupid. Furthermore, the despotic rulers of North Germany acted like patriarchs to their people; they lived economically themselves, and provided for the hungry and needy. This was especially the case with the Kings of Prussia. They conducted their internal affairs rigidly, like a well-balanced household, while their "cousins" over the Main exhausted and oppressed every productive faculty of their subjects. In Prussia, moreover, which largely represents North Germany, there always existed a well regulated Judiciary, in which the humblest subject had the fullest confidence, which was believed not to give the least preference to the grand and mighty, and to mete out justice, alike to the poor and rich. "*Voilà des Judges à Berlin,*" went in Europe for a long time

as a highly complimentary remark, and a recognition of the incorruptibility and uprightedness of the Prussian Judiciary. And, as under these circumstances the economical condition was at least bearable, it was, therefore, very late when the tide of emigration which set in so early in the southern part of Germany, struck also the north and northeast. North Germans, and, more so, Prussians, were at least late comers here in Buffalo. The first large influx of Prussians were the Old Lutherans, who had to leave their country on account of religious persecutions. They came here in 1839, several hundred strong, under the lead of their hard-persecuted and prison-escaped minister, Johann Andreas August Grabau. More of them anon.

Another strong and numerous element of North Germans our community received from Mecklenburg, that blessed state of "Pfaff und Junker," where, up to the formation of the North German Confederation, that ugliest and most revolting of all feudal institutions, the *Jus Primae Noctis*, was in force. Would I speak as a partisan, I might say those Mecklenburgian immigrants have shown a large degree of intelligence, not only because they exchanged their land of abominable, feudal and mediaeval remnants for a country of personal and political liberty and equality to all, but also because they belong, nearly to a man, to the Republican party. They almost exclusively populate the populous seventh ward.

That the Alsacians are included in the German immigration, is but natural, and historically and ethnographically correct. They have preserved their German language, habits and customs. They have allied themselves exclusively here with Germans. They were amongst the first to build German churches and German schools. They have organized German societies, and have propagated, in every shape and manner, everything that is essentially German. And last, but not least, whenever they have sought an office, they have done it as representatives of the German element. For the last-named occasion, however,

even native-born Americans are neither shy nor ashamed to arrogate to themselves a few drops of German blood.

From the year 1828, the immigration tide which had set in increased steadily, and kept equal pace with the natural growth of our city. Of the immigration of 1829, may be mentioned Dr. Devening, who was the first German elected to the Assembly. Of the immigration of 1830, just half a century ago, Dr. Fred. Dellenbach (Dellenbaugh) is still the most esteemed survivor, he having been the first German Alderman ; and of the immigration in 1831, Messrs. John Greiner and Dr. John Hauenstein still hold prominent position in German society. It would be difficult, as well as invidious, to select from the immigration of the following years, which populated this city to fully one half with Germans, some single names, while it is evident that an enumeration of all of them would also be impossible. But the spirit of historical justice has to protest against the panegyrizing of sheer German office-hunters and successful German office-holders, as has been done by Gov. Gustav Koerner, in his work, "The German Element in the United States, from 1818 to 1848," just published. Men with a rude education, or no education at all, unable either to intelligently use their own language, or master that of their adopted country, but possessed of that shrewdness which knows how to take advantage, for their own glory and pocket, of the ignorance of others under false pretenses, are by no means representative types of that honored nation of thinkers. A saloon or corner-grocery keeper, skillful and cunning enough to pack a ward caucus or control a district convention for a time being, and then claiming, in his insolent pretension, to carry the German vote in his pocket, and getting political rewards, is not a fit subject to be eulogized by a historian, as a respectful and respected type of his countrymen. Those men, with the often heard, and oftener still repeated, but always fraudulent and fallacious claim of having the German vote in their pocket, have been a curse to the Germans, because they have caused

the impression upon the non-German population, that the Germans are nothing better than voting cattle. There has not lived, nor is there living, a German in this country who has carried or carries the German vote either in his breeches or swallow-tail coat pockets. True, there are Germans who, by their knowledge and intelligence, wield and have wielded great influence amongst their countrymen; who, by their disinterested devotion to the moral and intellectual development of their element, and by their faithful exertion to preserve their native tongue, and to gain for them recognition and distinction in the political and social sphere, have a large and respectful and enthusiastic following; but those are not the men whom Gov. Koerner took as representatives of the German element, and on whom he wasted his eulogies.

Of the large addition which our German population received in 1839, through the Old Lutherans, whom the intolerance of a Prussian King drove from their altars and their firesides, mention has already been made. Of the political fugitives, however, of the Revolutionary War of '48, but few found in Buffalo a new home. The most prominent of these were Dr. Weiss, Dr. Baethig and the artist Carl Gruener, proprietor of the well-known Gruener's Hotel. Our civil war had of course the tendency to discourage immigration in general, and afterwards the stream of immigration flowed further on, westward. And whatever has halted here during the last decade has hardly caused any ripple, because it was, so to say, a drop in the ocean.

The German population in this city is now variously estimated at 60,000 to 75,000, with the probabilities for the correctness of the latter and higher figure in accord with the Annual Report of the Board of Health for the year 1879. This report states that during the year 1878, there were of 3,729 children born in this city, 1,985 of German parentage, 1,079 of American, 345 of Irish, 170 of English, 48 of Scotch, 62 of French, 31 of Polish, 5 of Dutch, and 4 of Italian parentage.

On this very remarkable exhibition of figures one of our English morning papers commented thus: "It is well for Americans to scan these figures, and realize in what a contemptible minority they are in this Teutonic city." And this large German element, overshadowing in its number almost all other nationalities taken together, has a history of its own in its Press, Societies and Churches, all of which have given more or less tone, direction and character to the history of our beautiful city.

And first, as to the Press, the now first great power. But before entering upon a historical sketch of the publications in the German language, it may not be amiss to answer a question which has rather frequently been put individually as well as in public print. What's the use, anyhow, of a German Press in this country? Do not the naturalized Germans become American citizens, sharing alike the duties and rights of native-born citizens? Should they then not have the same interests at heart? Is not the language in which the organic saw of this country has been enacted, in which the statutes of our parliamentary bodies are issued, justice rendered and injustice prevented, in short, our whole government carried on, the English one? Should not therefore the German Press be regarded rather as an impediment to the desirable amalgamation of all the foreign elements that find a common country on this soil of liberty? Whosoever allows his mind to be aggravated by such reflections has not given this subject a thoughtful moment. Let us see. Who constitute the greater part of immigration? The peasants, the husbandry from the villages and towns, the mechanics and tradesmen of the cities. They come to a country strange to them in its form of government, stranger still in its idiom. They do not come to study the English language or the republican form of government, but they come to make a living, to get, by honest toil, bread and butter for themselves—a comfortable home for their families. In the pursuit of their material happiness they may pick

up enough of the English language to get along in their every-day life, but not enough to read your newspapers, to listen to your stump-speakers, to understand intelligently the workings of the system of your government. And yet in due course of time they become citizens, vested with the sovereign right of suffrage. Think only, if you would have a million voters casting their votes without understanding what for and why! There it is where the unavoidable necessity of the German Press steps in. The German Press makes the new immigrant acquainted in his own language with our system of government and its workings; acquaints him with the virtues, vices, and tenets of political parties, with the issues of the day, with the laws of the country, with the proceedings of legislative bodies; and, by the time he becomes naturalized and deposits his first ballot as an American citizen, he is intellectually a sound, loyal American, worthy of and capable of intelligently performing the sovereign right of suffrage, even if he is still wanting in the English idiom to express himself. The German immigrant is the more eager to read his German newspaper, as it is not only the only source for him to make himself acquainted with the peculiarities of his new home, but also the only source of his continuous intellectual connection with the land of his birth, in the events of which he naturally feels a vivid and undying interest. And this much can truthfully be said for the German Press in this country—and I can say it from an experience gained during ten years' connection with it—that whatever their other faults, mistakes and shortcomings may be, the Republic has no more devoted, no more loyal, no abler adherents than the German newspapers, without any exception. The republican spirit of this government, if its preservation should depend only on the German Press, would never die out; the German Press is therefore a necessity for this country; it makes the German population loyal and intelligent citizens.

Considering this task as a moving cause and justification for its existence, the first German newspaper made its appearance

in Buffalo, as early as 1837. It bore the cosmopolitan name of "Der Weltbuerger," and started into life on the second of December of the year named. It was a very neat little sheet, 19x25, gotten up in a very handsome, creditable, typographical style. Its publisher was George Zahm, who also kept a German bookstore, and its editor, St. Molitor. It justified its appearance in an announcement at the head of its columns, thus: "The number of the German population of Buffalo has increased largely during the last four or five years, and the commercial as well as political circumstances of this city have become of such great significance for the Germans living here, that the appearance of a newspaper in the German language has long been felt as an urgent need. Its aim is the instruction of the Germans in the politics of this country, and the communication of the most important American and European events. As this instruction will be one of its main purposes, it will advocate no special party, but try to develope independently and impartially those principles which are necessary to the preservation of the Constitution. On the more important political questions the views of both parties will be presented, in order to enable the readers to form their own judgment. It must, however, energetically protest against the unjust persecution of the European immigrants, and draw their attention to those rights which are guaranteed to them by the Constitution and laws." These views are still more elaborated in a long and very ably written explanation on the second page, in which the Germans are urged, in spite of the confessed independence of the paper itself, to take sides with the contesting parties, lest they lose their influence and significance as citizens. Once more it is recommended as their first duty to preserve pure and unabridged that document based on democratic foundation, which the wise patriots of the great Republic have left as a legacy to their posterity. And, finally, there is an indignant condemnation of the disgraceful agitation and purposes of the Know-Nothing party. The rest of the paper is made up of two

literary articles, one entitled "The Influence of Intellectual Occupation on the Human Character," the other "The Humpbacked Musicians;" a fable; a review of the week's political events in the different parts of Europe; of the news of the neighborhood, especially Canada; of some local items, and a market report. The fourth page contains the advertisements, the most conspicuous of which is a half double column of the hardware store of Patterson Bro's., with a very fine cut of their business place, eight business cards of lawyers, a business card of Samuel F. Pratt and Dorsheimer & Co., two grocery advertisements, and a list of German books which were for sale in the book-store of its publisher. The list contains the classical works of Schiller and Koerner, Langbein's poems, Zschokke's Works, Gellert's Fables, Muenchausen's Travels, Knigge's Complimentary Book, and a long series of Prayer, Mission and Song books, Catechisms and tracts of the different denominations. This gives some idea on what kind of intellectual food the Germans at that time were fed in this country. The "Weltbuerger" remained under the proprietorship of George Zahm till 1843, when it passed into the hands of Brunck & Domedion. In 1848, another German Weekly was started by Carl Esslinger, called the "Demokrat." It, however, changed hands, a year and a half later, Carl de Haas and a Mr. Knapp becoming its proprietors, who made it a Daily,—the first German Daily in Buffalo. In 1853, the "Weltbuerger" was amalgamated with the "Demokrat" under the firm of Brunck, Held & Co., Mr. Held having bought out the interest of Mr. Knapp. The "Weltbuerger" was kept up as a Weekly of the "Demokrat," and is still so, to this day. In 1859, Carl de Haas severed his connection with Brunck & Held; and on June 1, 1873, Dr. Brunck also left the firm. Mr. Fred Held is now sole proprietor and publisher of both the oldest and most flourishing German Daily and Weekly. The "Demokrat" was and is what its name indicates, a Democratic paper, strongly partisan in the height and heat of the campaign period, but a little more indulgent and independent,

and under its new régime sometimes decidedly so, in off-campaign times.

Once in motion, the "boom" of newspaper-starting flourished lustily. In 1840, Mr. John M. Meyer issued a campaign Weekly, the "Volksfreund," in the interest of the Whig party. In 1843, the same gentleman tried it again in connection with Mr. Alexander Krause, and issued another Weekly, the "Freimuethige," which hardly survived the campaign. In 1845, the "Telegraph" was established by Mr. H. B. Miller, as a Weekly. It grew into a Daily in '54, under the proprietorship of Miller & Bender. Afterwards, Mr. Philip H. Bender became its sole proprietor. It passed into possession of Mr. F. Geib, but gave up its ghost in '73. Politically, it supported first the Whigs, and when they were superseded by the Republican party, it became a stanch advocate of that party.

In 1850, the "Luegenfeind" made its appearance, a very spicy little sheet, published and edited by J. Marle, an organ of the Free Christian congregation. It struggled for a precarious living for two years, and then vanished. The "Lichtfreund" tried to take its place in 1855, but its publisher and editor, Joseph Egenter, met with no better success.

In the same year another Weekly came to life, a little sheet, the "Freie Presse." It lived on quietly for seventeen years, when it suddenly, in 1872, was rejuvenated and issued as a Daily, as a laughing heir to the "Telegraph." Its publishers were first, Fred. Reinecke, then Reinecke, Zesch & Baltz, and now Reinecke & Zesch. It claims to be a Republican organ. In 1857, Messrs. Young & Vogt published the "Buffalo Patriot," a Daily, whose existence did not count many days. Still more abortive was the "Buffalo Union," a Daily started in February, 1863, by Reinecke & Storck. Its parents did not seem to be able to keep it alive, as it died after a two days' existence. The same year, Messrs. Nauert, Hansman & Co. published the "Buffalo Journal," which, after a few months, Mr. Bender absorbed by purchase. Next in order was a

religio-political paper, the "Volksfreund," started in 1868 by the "German Printing Association," and devoted alike to the interests of the Roman Catholic church and the Democratic party. On the sixteenth day of October, 1875, the author of this essay issued the "Daily Republikaner," an uncompromising Republican paper, in name as well as in fact. On the first of January, 1878, its proprietary rights were transferred to the German Republican Printing Association, the editorial management remaining in the same hands until November 11th, 1879, and a week later the "Republikaner" was consolidated with the "Freie Presse." About two years ago there sprang into existence another politico-religious paper, the "Evangelische Gemeindezeitung," devoted, as it alleged, to political independence and the interests of the Protestant church, because, as it asserted, the German secular Press is generally a disregarder of and scoffer at every religious (meaning ecclesiastical) feeling. But it was soon compelled to change its (for a large class of very liberal and free-minded Germans) too ecclesiastical name into a more harmless one: "Volksblatt fuer Stadt und Land." Its momentary success encouraged its leading spirits, the Rev. Berner and Messmer, to convert the Weekly into a Daily, which, however, was so far from being a success, that its issue had to be suspended on the last day of January last.

The first German Sunday paper was issued in September, 1875, by Haas, Nauert & Klein, called the "Sunday Herald," but after a few months stopped publication. In January, 1876, another German Sunday paper made its appearance, the "Tribuene," published by some printers on a strike. Corresponding to its origin, it gradually dropped into an advocate of socialism, and taking advantage of the existing state of feeling amongst workingmen during the great railroad strikes in 1877, it appeared during the hot fall campaign of that year as a Daily. Failing, however, of political success, and being conducted by an illy-qualified editor, it fell, immediately after the

election, into total disrepute, and had to suspend publication in April, 1878. The Sunday issue was, however, continued by the German Republican Printing Association, which had purchased the material of the defunct paper. The latest German newspaper venture was the most ill-begotten one. It was also a Sunday paper, called the "Arbeiterstimme am Erie," started in the summer, 1878; an out-and-out communistic sheet of the Dennis Kearney type and tone. But it hardly survived the fall campaign.

Finally, there are two more German publications to be mentioned, both Weeklies, and both exclusively devoted to Roman Catholic literature—the "Aurora," by C. Wieckmann, since 1858, and the "Christliche Woche," published by Rev. Joseph Sorg, since February, 1875.

In this long, long list of German publications of longer or shorter existence (there have at one time, not long ago, been five German Dailies, besides a more than corresponding number of Weeklies, published here), the numerical and intellectual strength of our Germans is more or less represented. They represented every shade and grade of the social, political and religious problems that occupy a thinking mind; it is greatly to be regretted that they have passed away, or pass on entirely ignored by the English Press, or English-speaking public.

Whilst the German Press was and is the instructor of the German element, the ardent advocates of its political claims, and the protector of its social qualities against any and all outside attacks, the essence of the German character and its peculiarities were preserved, strengthened and kept almost intact by the numerous, almost innumerable societies of the most different and varied kind.

Nearly forty years ago the first German society was started in this city. It was on the tenth of May, 1841, when nine young men joined together to form a German and English Literary Society. These praiseworthy young men felt the need of not only acquainting themselves with the literature of their adopted

country, but also of preserving and enriching their knowledge of the literature of their old home. But the latter part of this object was soon made its principal feature, as outlined in the By-laws of their Incorporation Act, in which the object of their society was described to be: "To propagate the knowledge of the treasures of the German literature, and to cause the preservation of the German language and the growth of the German spirit and self-conscience. It was therefore an especially German society, and, accordingly, it soon afterwards changed its name into "German Young Men's Society." The more surprising, therefore, must be the remarkable fact, that out of the nine founders of this society there was only one who could at that time, geographically speaking, be considered a German. Those founders were: F. A. Georger, now President of the German Bank; John Hauenstein, at present one of the most well-to-do physicians; Jacob Beyer, ex-Police Commissioner; George Beyer, Stephen Bettinger, Karl Neidhardt, George F. Pfeiffer; Wilhelm Rudolph and Adam Schlagder. Of these, one, Mr. Bettinger, was born in Lorrraine; two, Messrs. Hauenstein and Rudolph, hailed from Switzerland; five, the Messrs. Beyer, Neidhardt, Georger and Pfeiffer, were Alsacians; and the only Schlagder was from Germany proper, the Palatinate. This remarkable fact tends to prove that the French had no claim whatever on Alsace and Lorraine, which were and happily now again are German. The membership of this society increased from nine to two hundred and thirty last year; and its library, which started with sixty-four volumes, to six thousand two hundred and ninety-nine volumes. It is the only society of its kind in the United States.

Wherever Germans are you may be sure to find them associated for some kind of sociability, where they are at liberty to exhibit their innate social qualities and peculiarities. To the American, the fireside is all and everything. Not so with the German. However cheerful and comfortable a home may look, it lacks, in his opinion, the spirit of a good-humored

crowd, that "Gemuethlichkeit" which is alike unknown to English society and the English vocabulary. Therefore, wherever there is a German settlement on the face of the globe, there is a German singing society, or Turnverein or some sort of social association incarnating the full enjoyment of life so graphically described by Martin Luther:

> Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib and Gesang,
> Der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang.
> (Who does not love wine, wife and song
> Remains a fool his life long.)

As soon, therefore, as the Germans of Buffalo grew to any respectable number, they organized singing societies, the oldest of which is the Liedertafel. It was founded, May 9, 1848. Its first officers were: H. Wiser, President; F. Albrecht, Secretary; C. Huis, Treasurer; A. Wunderlin, Librarian. The following gentlemen served as musical directors: John Dossert, J. Hoddick, C. Adam, W. Groscurt, Sig. J. Nuno, Joseph Mischka, C. F. W. Mueller and now again Mr. Joseph Mischka. On May 9, 1873, it celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. In 1853 another singing society, "Das Lieder-kraenzchen" was formed, from which the "Saengerbund" emerged, April 20, 1855, with the following members: C. W. Brawn, H. Duehrfeldt, C. Voss, E. Besser, A. Holzhausen, and nine others. The musical instructors of this society were: C. W. Braun and Professor Friedrich Federlein. It is a thoroughly German society, untouched by the least spark of Americanism, representing almost solely and exclusively the German middle class. In 1878 it celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. In 1869 two singing societies were formed at once, the "Harugari-Maennerchor," on September 19th, and the "Orpheus" on October 29th, of that year; the first one an association of members of the Harugari order, the latter originating from the Liedertafel, with the following founders: A. Brunn, A. B. Felgemacher, Otto Ulbrich, F. Lautz, A. Lautz, C. Kroll, M. Stark and some others. Their first musical director was Ernst Schultz, their

present one Carl Adam. There are some other singing societies, but of less note, such as the "Buffalo Maennerchor," "Frohsinn," and the "Helvetia Gesangverein."

A very significant place in the history of the Germans of this country the Turnvereine occupy. The culture of manhood and gymnastical exercises being their professed object, they have also supported every progressive and enlightened measure in political and social life, and stood up manfully for the rights and an equal treatment of the naturalized citizens with the native born. No more obstinate phalanx had the Know-Nothings of the past and have those of the present to overcome than the Turners. In their National Convention (Bundes-Tagsatzung) held here in Buffalo in 1856, they declared slavery a nuisance to the Republic, and its abolishment an urgent necessity. And when the War of Emancipation finally broke out, the Turners were among the first that enlisted for the cause of Union and Liberty. The existence of the Buffalo Turnverein was at one time endangered, so many of its members having enlisted in the New York Turner Regiment. But of late they have evidently lost caste. Politics has caused a lack of harmony in their councils, and at their last National Convention in Cleveland thay adopted such a radical platform, embodying some socialistic theorems and a demand for the abolishment of the presidency, that they repelled the more conservative element.

The Buffalo Turnverein was organized March 7th, 1853, in Roth's Hall on Michigan street. Its founders were twenty in number, as follows: Louis Allgewaehr, Gustav and Frederic Duehrfeldt, Herman Weber, Heinrich Nauert, Gustav Spitznagel, Martin Riebling, Karl and Gotthard Krech, Ed. Gerstenhauer, Wilhelm Moeser, A. Liesenhopp, John Haffner, Anton Heilman, Geo. Hirsch, Valentine Friedrich, James von Arx, G. Bachman, G. Berger, and A. Kaltenegger. This society had, in its early days, many a battle to fight with the rowdy element, who tried to disturb their theatrical entertain-

ments and picnics. In these battles their training in gymnastics proved of great advantage to them. They are the only German society here which possesses a property of their own, the well-known Turn Hall on Ellicott street, a most convenient hall for any social gathering. The renovated theater in that hall is a model of its kind.

As early as their other Associations, the Germans also organized their lodges, and there are hardly any of the so-called secret societies in which the Germans are not represented by lodges, organized by them. The first German lodge was the "Walhalla" of the order of Odd Fellows, organized in 1847. Since that time the German lodges have almost grown to be numberless. The first German Free Mason Lodge was formed by James Wenz, Dr. Ehrman, Moritz Eschenbach and Jacob Weil in 1849, and called "Concordia." A year and a half later the "Modestia" was organized, and in 1870, a third lodge was instituted, the "Harmonia." An order, especially German, is the "Harugari." By its constitution it is directed and pledged to use the German language exclusively in its proceedings, and to its utmost to preserve the German language in this country. The first lodge of this order was founded in 1848 and named the "Columbia Lodge, No. 11." The second was the "Goethe, No. 36," but both soon dissolved. The following lodges were then founded, which are still in existence: Black Rock Lodge, No. 35, in 1853; Cherusker, No. 47, in 1854; Robert Blum, No. 54, in 1855; Buffalo, No. 10, in 1860; Ludwigs, No. 105, Buffalo Plains, No. 111, and German, No. 119, all three in 1865; Erie Co., No. 165, in 1868; Goethe, No. 222, in 1870; Loche, in 1875; Baldur, in 1876, and Freundschaft in the same year. On January 5th, 1868, the Harugari Life Insurance Co. was organized, which pays $500, in caseof the death of any member, to the family of the deceased. This order is in a most flourishing condition.

Although the Germans are generally thought to lean toward infidelity, by the more straight-laced Anglo-Saxon race, yet,

they never remained long after their settlement without their clergy and churches. The very history of the German immigration is indissolubly connected with the German clergy, who were their leaders and advisers. But their churches have for decades been nothing but the plainest kind of frame structures, shanties largely, and their ministers have had to live on a very limited salary, not exceeding $800 or $1000 at best, even if a congregation numbered over a thousand members. An exception to this rule are the German Catholics, who, guided, controlled and inspired by what is known to be the strongest kind of centralization, the Roman Hierarchy, have built sky-ward, towering cathedrals, marble churches; and established all kinds of religious institutions, provided with all possible comfort. The first German church here was a Catholic one. It was the St. Louis church, a most primitive log structure, erected in 1832, with the help of their Protestant countrymen, on the site on which the now stately structure stands, which site was donated for that purpose by that eminent pioneer, Monsieur Le Coulteulx. But the first divine service had already been held in 1828, in a room over Koons & Handel's store on Main street, Carl Meyerhoffer, the teacher of languages, officiating as minister, and performing whatever ministerial duties were required of him. In 1835 the German Catholics, who were almost exclusively Alsacians, combined with the Frenchmen, replaced the log-house of the St. Louis church with the large, solid, brick structure which is still in use. The first pastor of this church was Rev. Johannes Maerz, who was followed in 1835 by the Rev. Mr. Pax. The present minister is Rev. Joseph M. Sorg, born in Buffalo and baptized in the church of which he is now the esteemed and revered spiritual head. To the St. Louis church the German Catholics have added St. Mary's, St. Michael's, St. Boniface's, St. Anne's, the Church of the Seven Dolores, and St. Francis Xavier. With each of these churches a parochial school is connected, and one and another kind of charitable institu-

tions. They also, a few years ago, built an orphan asylum.

The German Protestant churches are divided according to their different denominations. There are Evangelical, Lutheran and Old Lutheran churches, Baptists and Methodists, and churches of the Evangelical Association. The German Baptists and Methodists are outgrowths of the Anglo-American sectionalism. No Presbyterian or Episcopalian churches are amongst the Germans of Buffalo.

As heretofore remarked, the first German Protestant service was held as early as 1828. From the small gathering of worshipers in the room over Koens & Handel's grocery store on Main Street, originated the first German Protestant congregation, which was organized on the tenth of February, 1832, with the following trustees: Jacob Siebold, Rudolph Baer, Ernst G. Grey, Christian Bronner, Christian Lapp, and Fred Dellenbach. The corner-stone to their church, which was called St. Joannes, was laid on Hickory Street, on September 9th, 1835, but it took eight years before it could be dedicated (in 1843.) Then it began to prosper, and the congregation soon outgrew the capacity of the church. It became necessary to enlarge it, and in 1874 a new building in gothic style, 65x116, was erected. The first pastor of this congregation was Rev. F. D. Guenther, of whom a son is still living in this city, but entirely estranged from the German element. Rev. Guenther's successor was the present pastor, Rev. Christian Volz. The St. Joannes congregation established an orphan asylum at Sulphur Springs, which was destroyed by fire in 1876, but was soon rebuilt in a more solid style.

An offspring of St. Joannes church is St. Paul's on Washington Street, better known as Burger's church, so called after its former pastor, Otto Burger, under whose ministry it became the most prominent German Protestant church in the city. The secession from the mother church took place in 1843. From this church originated again in 1853, the St. Stephen's church, after its most efficient minister, Frederick

Schelle. It began with twenty-one families, and numbers now over seven hundred members, the strongest German Protestant congregation. Its first pastor was Rev. Karl F. Soldan, whose successor, Rev. F. Schelle, proved a most genial minister, the type of a liberal, scholarly German clergyman.

In 1833, Rev. Goembel, from Wuertemberg, organized the St. Peter's congregation, which at first consisted of but one family who crossed with him the ocean, from his old home. In 1835 they got a present of the little frame building of the First Presbyterian congregation, on Pearl near Niagara Street, which they removed to the corner of Genesee and Hickory Streets. With the increase of immigration, the congregation soon became one of the strongest, their most prominent pastor being Rev. George S. Vogt, who served as minister of St. Peter's for twenty-seven years. In 1875 he resigned, and built the St. Jacobus church, and organized a congregation of his own. The other churches belonging to the same denomination are: the Zion's congregation, corner of Spruce and Cherry Streets, organized in 1845; the Salem's congregation on Sherman Street, organized in 1873, and the St. Marcus' on Oak Street, a daughter-church of St. Paul's, organized on August 5th, 1873. Their first minister was E. Schornstein, who was succeeded on July 4th, 1875, by Dr. G. A. Zimmermann, under whose ministry the congregation built their beautiful church. Dr. Zimmermann resigned in July, 1878, and Rev. O. H. Kraft, a theologian who gained his education at German Universities became his successor. He still serves his congregation.

The formation of Old Lutheran congregations in this city is due to a famous historical event, namely, to the union of the Reformed and Lutheran churches in Prussia by King Frederic William III. in the first half of our century. But some of the Lutheran clergymen were not willing to sacrifice the traditions of their church and their conscience to the dictatory interference of the King, and openly defied the new union. One of these clergymen was Pastor Grabau, of St. Andreas' church in

Erfurt. He was imprisoned for his defiance to the royal decree, but afterwards permitted to emigrate with his faithful adherents. And so the Old Lutherans came over to this country of religious liberty in 1839, and settled here in Buffalo, October 5th of the same year. Here Rev. Grabau founded the Trinity church, corner Goodell and Maple Streets, and conducted it until his death, which occurred June 2d, 1879. Rev. Grabau was at one time much spoken of in public, being a genuine type of the *ecclesia militans* and acquiring the *sobriquet*, "The Lutheran Pope." In the interest of his old faith he issued a monthly theological magazine, and founded a German Martin Luther Seminary for the education of young ministers. In 1858, an Old Lutheran branch church, St. Andreas', was founded on Peckham Street. The congregation built at once their own church, which was dedicated July 10th, 1859. As long as it belonged to the Lutheran synod of Buffalo, it was administered to by the Rev. W. Grabau, a son of the Rev. J. A. Grabau, but when it seceded from this synod in 1866, Pastor Grabau resigned and was succeeded by Rev. P. Brand, the present minister, Rev. A.Christian Grossberger becoming his successor in 1869. Under him it was that the congregation erected a two story school-house, which was dedicated Sept. 3d, 1871. The first teacher of this school was Fr. Hoffmeyer; its present one, John Roberts. It numbers about two hundred scholars, while the congregation consists of one hundred and fifty families. Its executive board are: John G. Langner, Jobst Keinkeder and Ch. Pohlman; and its trustees: H. W. Kreinheder, Frank Kimmer, Ernst Thiesfeld, Aug. Geigle, J. Kohlmann.

The first congregation of the German Methodist Episcopal church was organized in 1846, by John Sautser. Their first church, built in 1847, was on the corner of Sycamore and Ash streets, which afterwards became a police station. Their present church was erected on Mortimer Street, in 1875.

The German Baptists are organized in three congregations, the first of which was founded in 1848 by Alexander von Putt-

kammer, of a very aristocratic family, to which the present minister of public worship and ecclesiastical affairs in Prussia belongs. It consisted of seventy members at its organization, and numbers now one hundred and ninety-six. Its house of worship is now on Spruce Street. Its present pastor, Rev. C. Bodenbender, is a very efficient minister.

The second congregation was organized in 1858 by Rev. Edward Gruetzner, and holds its services on Hickory Street. The third congregation was started in 1875, and has use of the Mission Chapel on High and Mulberry streets.

There are yet a number of other German Protestant churches here, but I was unable to obtain the facts or data in regard to them. With each of these churches a school is connected—a day school or a Sunday school, and in some cases both. These schools and churches are the most powerful agents in keeping alive and preserving the German language in this country.

The first attempt to introduce the German language into our public schools was undertaken nearly forty years ago, when Ald. Park introduced in the meeting of the Common Council on January 14th, 1851, a resolution in favor of employing one male and one female teacher to teach the German language in the public schools Nos. 11, 12, 13 and 15. This motion was lost, all voting against it but the mover. The attempt was renewed fifteen years later with complete success. The then Superintendent of Schools, Mr. John S. Fosdick, recommended the plan warmly, and Mr. Richard Flach, of the Fourth ward, the Chairman of the School Committee, introduced in the Common Council meeting of August 20th, 1868, the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Superintendent of Schools, under the direction of the Committee on Schools, be authorized to employ two experienced and competent teachers of German, at a salary not exceeding $1,000 a year, and that these teachers be assigned to public schools Nos. 12, 13, 15 and 31, under such regulations of the Superintendent of Schools as the Committee on Schools may prescribe.

This resolution was unanimously adopted. The number of German teachers was soon increased to four. But in the Comptroller's estimate for the year 1873, the item for the support of these four German teachers was omitted, which omission was interpreted as a move to discontinue the instruction of the German language, whereupon the most exciting debate that the Common Council ever witnessed arose upon this subject, and, nearly jeopardized the adoption of the whole estimate for the fiscal year. The omission was not corrected, and the four teachers dismissed. Whereupon the Germans organized, under the leadership of the famous Committee of Thirty-five, for the following fall campaign, to maintain their rights at the ballot-box; and they won a decisive victory at the municipal elections by the defeat of every one whom the Germans held as directly or indirectly responsible for the dismissal of the German teachers. The politicians learned which way the wind blew, and hastened to right the wrong and conciliate the German voters. The Common Council of 1874 passed a resolution appointing six lady teachers, or as many as there would be a demand for, to teach the German language in the public schools. This system is still in working order. The average number of children who partook in this institution during the past year, was 1874, of which 1557 were of German parentage.

The military spirit with which the Germans are imbued almost from boyhood, manifests itself amongst them also in this country. We find them here participating already in the so-called Patriot War in 1837, to which they furnished two companies, the Steuben Guard, under Capt. George Zahn, and the Lafayette Guard, under the command of Dr. Dellenbaugh. In the late war for the Union, Buffalo furnished an entire regiment of Germans, the 65th, besides a battery, which Col. Michael Wiedrich organized, and under whom Christopher Schmidt and Jacob Schenkelberger served as lieutenants. The 65th Regiment took the field under the following officers:

Col. Jacob Kressner, later Col. Wm. F. Behrens, Major Wm. Scheu, Quartermaster Richard Flach, who later became its Colonel.

With such numbers the Germans became and are still, a power in politics, and shared largely in its rewards. The first office which a German filled was that of Alderman, Dr. Dellenbaugh being the first German elected to the Common Council in 1837. Since then, our municipal legislative body has almost continuously had one or more German members—at one time, as many as eight. The next body in which they were most numerously represented, was the Assembly. Dr. Devening was the first member of it from Buffalo, in 1835. Of the more remunerative county offices, Dr. Brunck held the office of County Treasurer in 1863–66, and Mr. Joseph L. Haberstro enjoyed the emoluments of the Sheriff's office in 1877, '78 and '79. The Mayoralty they first gained in the Centennial year, 1876, Mr. Philip Becker being the first German Mayor of this city, and he was succeeded by another German, Mr. Solomon Scheu. The only federal office held by a German was that of Postmaster, by Mr. Philip Dorsheimer.

Thus it is apparent that the Germans, by their numbers, through their press, churches, social and political associations, have given, and are giving, a very decided tone, direction and character to the development of Buffalo and her local affairs, and have become a factor with which not only the present has to figure, but which is also worthy of further historical researches, as well as future observations.

A MEMORIAL ADDRESS.

OLIVER GRAY STEELE.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JUNE 16, 1880.

BY REV. GEORGE W. HOSMER, D.D.

It is finished. Well done! Such brief record of success and approval is the best part of history. This Historical Society, which it is so very pleasant to me to visit, in its twenty years' life has many such records. It is finished. Well done! Such record has been made of its first officers, and of nearly all its founders. We think sadly but gratefully of those vanished forms, benignant presences, that gave order, dignity, progress, to our beginnings. They created an institution which this community, we hope, is too wise ever to neglect.

A beneficent person, nobly fulfilling the relations of life, is the grandest product of this world. How can we speak of the value of such person, man or woman? We belong to each other. Members of a community are of so much value individually and together, mutually invested for the common benefit. And that value,—the principal and interest,—thought, affection, conscience, earnest life, virtuous character,—such value, enriching us at home and in society, who can estimate it! Such large intelligence, generous sympathy, sweet charities and grand, courageous beneficence, who can tell how much they all are worth! And when a man or woman has become rich in these unseen, spiritual values, and sends out influences

to make others good and happy, we are glad to hold such an one as our own, and cleave to him with better hope and reason than the miser cleaves to his gilt-edged stocks. But the most valued friend may depart, and we must mourn our loss. And when our hair has turned gray, and our cotemporaries, who have given us sympathy, power or inspiration, are going away (so frequently and so many), and we not so familiar with the coming as with the departing actors, it seems to us very sad sometimes, and the elders may be heard saying: "The former days were better than these; we are the people and wisdom will die with us. This city or that State is not what it was once." Alas for our old age when it comes so bereft of hope. Why,—has not God kept human society going from the beginning until now? It is absurd to doubt it. The young enter into the labors of their progenitors, and begin in a large measure on their results. Inventors and discoverers bring new methods, open the gates to new fields of action; and so progress is the outcome of industry, intelligence and fidelity, from age to age. But as we old men think of the elders whom we have known here, the pioneers and builders of this beautiful city, with whom we, in our day, tried, I hope, to do our part—as we think of them, so many noble men and women, so intelligent and enterprising, and now gone, it is hard to be of good cheer unless we look up, and live in readiness to go too.

Buffalo had a great birth time, and its pioneers and builders were something more than ordinary men. The city had hardly come to life before the beginning of the Erie Canal. That enterprise astonished the country. It made all look westward. For two generations New England had been trying to make an Eldorado out of what is now Maine and Vermont, but it was too cold and hard, and lumber forests could not last long; and when DeWitt Clinton and his coadjutors proclaimed the possibility of the Erie Canal, and when, in 1825, New York put the fact before the world, and went by water from Buffalo to New York City, and from all the open lakes to the sea, it was

an invitation to the world to come and partake in the greatest and richest inland commerce the world had ever seen. The invitation was widely accepted. The hamlet of Buffalo, that in a quarter of a century had got up to be an ambitious village, in ten years from the opening of the canal grew to a city of nearly twenty thousand inhabitants, with a harbor built against the fury of lake storms, and wharves and warehouses to accomodate a large fleet of vessels and steamers trading on all the lakes; and some of those steamers of 1836 and 1838 were large and fine, models of naval architecture—the Buffalo, the Cleveland, the Illinois, Madison and Jefferson. Buffalo merchants then thought the world was to go by water. We might look far in the history of the world up to 1826, to find so much done in twelve years as was done between 1826 and 1838, at and around Buffalo. Since then, Cincinnati, St. Louis and Chicago have shown their marvels of growth—but Buffalo was the beginning of the West. As I have said, the men and women who came here by the Erie Canal were something more than ordinary,—they had eyes to see, alert attention, and judgment to appreciate a good opportunity,—they had courage for adventure and hardship. Those men and women who founded this city were here when I came, in 1836. *Urbem condidit*—He founded the city—is on the monument of Judge Wilkeson at Forest Lawn; and I suppose it may more justly stand on his monument than on any other—he did so much of the rough, hard work; he, more than any other, put the harbor against the fury of lake storms. *Urbem condidit*, let it stand.

But others worked with him in making Buffalo ready for the multitudes.

In January, 1864, I delivered the Annual Address before this Society. I called it, "The Physiognomy of Buffalo." Allow me to refer to that address, and give you some of the facts about the beginning of Buffalo.

The Canal Commissioners held a meeting in the hall of the Eagle Tavern in the Summer of 1821, DeWitt Clinton, Gover-

nor, Ch .rman; Stephen Van Rensselaer, the Patroon; Henry Seymou , Myron Holley and Samuel Young, his associates. Mr. Joseph Dart was there, and is my authority. The question was, should Buffalo or Black Rock be the western terminus of the Canal? General Peter B. Porter and Judge Wilkeson, chief speakers. Buffalo would be the city. But could it be? Great expense to be incurred. The State would not pay it, and Samuel Wilkeson, Oliver Forward, Charles Townsend and George Coit signed a bond of $12,000, and gave it to the State to loan the money to Buffalo. Now the means were in hand, and Judge Wilkeson began the breakwater and pier at the mouth of Buffalo Creek.

Henry Lovejoy told me that he, with two hundred men with shovels, went to the breakwater in the Spring of 1822, expecting the break-up of the ice. They waited all day, but at night the break-up came, and it was a great trial to the breakwater, but the work stood; the fascines were over-turned, but kept their place, and are now under the pier.

So came the Buffalo of 1836! We can see the old signs now along the docks, and upon Main Street—Joy & Webster, Sheldon Thompson & Co., Smith & Macy, Wilkeson & Beals, Townsend & Coit, Hollister Brothers, Oliver Forward, Reuben B. Heacock, Judge Love, Dr. Johnson, Pratt & Co., William Williams, S. N. Callender, N. P. Sprague, General Potter, Albert H. Tracy, Millard Fillmore, N. K. Hall, Ira A. Blossom, H. K. Smith, Barker, Hawley & Sill, and physicians and ministers. I should like to call all their names as they come up to me. I have always thought it was a remarkable company of men here in Buffalo, in that first period of the city. They had unusual practical force, and there were many among them with uncommon intellectual power. They compare favorably with the builders of other young cities of the West, whom I have known. And there were here in Buffalo, forty years ago, a company of women superior as the men. The new life quickened them, and gave spirit and force to the culture

and habits ey brought with them from older communities. Such is th canvass and background for the portrait I would set before you. In May, 1827, the second year after the canal was opened, Oliver Gray Steele came to Buffalo. He was twenty-two years old. Up to this time, life had made him no brilliant promises. He was born in New Haven, Connecticut, December 16, 1805. His family was respectable; he attended public school until he was twelve years old: then for two years he was with a relative in New York City as a message-boy; then again at home, and was apprenticed to the book-binding business, and finished learning his trade in Norwalk, Connecticut. Early in 1827 we see the young journeyman in New York, in his freedom-suit, with very little money in his pocket and no constant work to be found. He struck for the West, which at that time was Buffalo. Here, in May, 1827, he found our old friend, R. W. Haskins, and went to work for him,—glad enough, no doubt, to be earning something,—and for about three years went on, receiving five dollars a week and board. In 1830, he went into business for himself as bookseller and bookbinder. Here, now, we find O. G. Steele, twenty-four years old, on his own feet, in a little store and shop in the Ellicott Square Block, and the next year he moved into larger and finer quarters in the Townsend Block, on the west side of Main Street, below Swan. And now he married Miss Sarah E. Hull, grand-daughter of Judge Zenas Barker, a lady of unusual force of character, and always active in the social life and charities of the city.

Think of our friend, the bridegroom, as he stands there in the door of Steele's book-store. He is twenty-five years old. We have seen his hard, naked life thus far, and he now stands among the business men of the young city, and is as hopeful for it and for himself as anybody; and down on the corner of Ellicott and Eagle streets he has a pretty home. Such progress was possible then, but such rapid growth is not likely to be enduring; so much sail and so little hold makes play for the

temper. Our friend found it so in 1835-6; but he was equal to the emergency, turned his hand to meet it, and still contrived to keep some hold of his book-store. But, for himself, he put on his bookbinder's apron and went to work in the upper shop, as he knew how to do, and looked, as I remember, cheerful and hopeful, for he knew that labor conquers all things—and so it did for him. After awhile the apron was left on the bench up-stairs, and he was down selling books in the store.

So we find Mr. Steele in 1837-8. At this time begin his interest and labors for public education, which make the most useful and honorable part of his life. He was about thirty-three years old, and had not been in school a day after he was twelve, and he became Superintendent of Public Schools in Buffalo, and was successful. How could it be? He had a beginning in those public schools of New Haven, and he caught education as he came along. He had very remarkable powers of perception. He touched, saw and heard things, and his mind laid hold of them with retentive grasp. The little message-boy in New York was at school all the time. The bookbinder's apprentice caught and held—absorbed—the contents of the books he bound; then he read when other people slept. When I first knew him, at thirty years of age, he was a quick, intelligent man, with mind very active, and a deal of common sense. Public schools hardly had existence in Buffalo in 1836. As soon as I was settled in the city that year, I asked Colonel Blossom if there were no free public schools. "Yes," he said, "partly free, but in part supported by tuition fees." I asked him where they were, as I wished to visit them. He could not tell me, but he and I looked them up. One was in a back cellar room under the Universalist church on Washington Street; one was in the alley between Franklin and Delaware streets; one was in a back street east of Main Street near George Palmer's; one out at Cold Spring, and another in the southeast part of the city. Seven in all—very crowded, uncomfortable places, hard and unhealthy to teachers and pupils; and in all these

little pens, January 1, 1838, there were one hundred and seventy-nine pupils. The most of the children of the city were in private schools at very large expense. The poorer quarter of the community must send their children to these public schools—in part free, but so unfit. This state of things could not by borne by people from New England. In 1836 there was uneasiness, and in 1837 a change was begun. Judge N. K. Hall and a few gentlemen took hold of the subject of improved legislation, and in 1837, 1838 and 1839 the free public school system of Buffalo was complete nearly as now. The Central School came in the due development. In 1837 the changes began. A Superintendent was wanted. It was not an office that anybody coveted. Mr. R. W. Haskins accepted it, but almost immediately resigned. Mr. N. P. Sprague was urged to take it, and he consulted with his minister, proposing to him to do the work and have the small salary, while he would nominally hold the office. At that time ministers in New York could not hold office; but the minister thought it was not wise to try such an experiment, and Mr. Sprague declined to accept the appointment, so the office went begging. Mr. Steele was interested; he saw what could be made of the public schools; and, young and inexperienced as he was, the office was offered to him, and, happily for the city, he at once accepted it. Men of to-day little know how much had to be done, first to get public consent, and then legislation, and then levy taxes and build schoolhouses for our free public schools. Judge Hall, Mr. Steele and some others were very earnestly active in all this. Many opposed as earnestly. When School-house No. 10, on Delaware Avenue, was built, as you may see, some hewn stone were laid in the front, which look modest enough now, but when those stones were being laid I passed by with one of the fathers of the city, and as he saw them, in very strong language he informed me that he was willing to pay for bread and meat (good bread and meat) for the poor, but he would not pay for pound cake. I look back to those days as if they were but yesterday.

In January, 1840, while Mr. Steele was Superintendent of Public Schools in Buffalo, the Common School Educational Society for the County of Erie was formed, in the hopes of bringing the county towns to follow the example of the city in establishing free public schools. I find among old papers a printed address which I delivered February 3, 1840, before that society, in the Methodist church, on Niagara Street, forty years ago. I take one item from that address. I should not like to read it all to you, or let you know how proud we felt that day of our schools. But this item, it seems, Mr. Steele had given me. Before the schools were made free, about 1,400 pupils were daily under instruction in public and private schools, at an expense to the city and to individuals of $19,094. Two years afterward the free schools were in operation, and about the same number of scholars in the public and private schools. The expense of education to the city and to individuals was $7,839—less than half—and the instruction not inferior, for many of the best of the private teachers had gone into the public free schools. President Van Buren, in 1839 or 1840, looked in upon Buffalo, and he was taken to old No. 8 by Mr. Steele and the City Government. No. 8 is the school-house with a colonnade, on Church Street, opposite the City Hall, and we were as proud of that school-house—with J. S. Brown, who had been teacher of a large private school, but now principal in that public school—as proud as anybody to-day is in showing the City Hall.

It was, indeed, a great achievement for Mr. Steele, to put your school system in operation, and do it so well that it has gone on without much change, except growth, for more than forty years. He had good sense, and good nature, and ready tact to get along with people; he knew his limitations, and he was wise in getting the help he needed. Professor Davies, the eminent mathematician of West Point, and author of excellent mathematical works, whose aid Mr. Steele sought in organizing mathematical study, told me that Mr. Steele was a re-

markable man—without early opportunity of education, yet knowing how to do himself, or to get help from others, so as to be a most excellent Superintendent of schools,—one of the best he knew.

Mr. Steele was Superintendent three years, but he always kept interested in education, saw to the establishment of the High School, and was a founder and patron of the State Normal School in Buffalo, and one of the presiding officers of its Board of Directors,—in all, able and faithful.

Mr. Steele did a great amount of work in all these years. Besides his regular business, which he did not neglect—and all this thought, work and care for the schools, which alone was work enough for any man—he found time to do much for the Old Lyceum, which, in 1835, was changed into the Young Men's Association; and he was the moving spirit in the Mechanics' and Apprentices' Society. He introduced me to this society in 1837, and I became acquainted with two young apprentices, afterward lawyers in Buffalo, and one of them, these many years, an able judge. Mr. Steele was also in the Fire Department, and in 1838–39 he was foreman of Company No. 6; and in the time of the border disturbances,—the Patriot War,—his company took muskets and helped preserve the peace, and General Scott had no better force on which to lean in those troubled days. Mr. Steele's good nature and hopeful enthusiasm gave him great power among young men. There was *esprit du corps* wherever he was, and it is worth while to look back and see how he used his power of doing good. He had strong religious instincts, and strengthened himself by early interest in religious thought and connection with the Unitarian Church; and in all these various ways, in the Lyceum and Associations, in the schools, and in the Sunday-school, of which he was for several years the Superintendent, he worked for the public welfare.

In 1831 and 1842, Mr. Steele was in the city government, and again, I think, in 1847; and here he had an opportunity to

work for the public schools, to which he had given so much of his life for the three years just before.

Another important thing he did as Alderman: on a committee upon sewerage, he urged the early beginning of certain main sewers which must come with the city's growth, and which, being early provided for, in fact begun, would save health, and save expense in the making. He carried his measure, notwithstanding the expense; and in after years it has been seen how far-sighted it was, and that if more such foresight had been exercised, it would have been better touching both health and expense.

Mr. Steele, notwithstanding the hard nakedness of his earlier life, had much enjoyment of beauty. He was one of the founders of the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts, and at one time its President; interested he was, too, in the Society of Natural History, which has a name far from home.

In 1848, Mr. Steele became interested in the Buffalo Gas Light Company, and was its Secretary and Manager nearly thirty years. In 1852, he gave much attention to the establishment of the Buffalo Water Works. He was the first Secretary of the Company, and for several years he held that office, and for a time was President.

Meantime, home-life has been moving on: Mr. Steele's family removed from the corner of Ellicott and Eagle streets to the corner of Michigan and Clinton streets, and from there to the pleasant home on Franklin Street. It was a joy to look into that home. Mr. and Mrs. Steele had taste and judgment, and their home was expressive of beauty and intelligence—handsomely, but not extravagantly furnished, with some fine pictures and statuary, and a library among the best private libraries in the city. They traveled in Europe, and brought home many articles of virtu that gave a finish of refinement to their house. In his library Mr. Steele was at home. He found time to read all through his life. Few men know their books better than he did. When in Europe, while his com-

panions in travel were asleep, in morning hours, he wrote letters to friends at home. They were afterward printed, not published, and the modest book always suggested to me Dr. Franklin. It is pleasant to think of our old friend in the easier and genial activities of his later years, so deeply interested, he and Mrs. Steele, in the charities of the city, and that Old Settlers' Association of which they were the very life; and for many years it was made not only to bring society into sympathetic friendliness and keep out the caste of wealth and fashion, but also to furnish two or three thousand dollars a year for city charities. Mr. Steele could bring people together —all sorts of people. His genial, hearty sympathies made him a center of fellowship. He never would have had strikes among his workmen if he had had a thousand. It would do the world good to see every one of the thirty, forty or fifty laborers at the gas works, every year, I think the first of January, at his house, amidst the books, pictures and statues, feasted as if the sons of kings, and Mr. and Mrs. Steele so good-natured in the midst of them; and when they died, the gas men were among the chief mourners. I love to think of all this.

Talfourd, Poet, Essayist and English Judge, died instantly. He was opening court to try criminals. The great number distressed him. He was charging the grand jurors, and was saying that there must be not only justice but sympathy to save English society, and with sympathy on his lips he fell dead. O, how sympathy is wanted.

And now, finally, and not to praise the dead, but for incentive and encouragement to the living, let us think of the beginning, progress and result of this long, active, useful life. Some one says every man should have a vocation and an avocation—an every-day employment for ordinary support, and spontaneous activities in the way of one's bent, taste and benevolent intention. Mr. Steele must have his vocation to get his bread—books must be bound and bought and sold; but his

avocation swallowed up his vocation. Things that interested him, and that he would live for, became his employment and life work. Education, the public schools, first took hold of him. He knew how he had wanted what they could give, and so for the schools he was always ready to spend and be spent. Then he gave his attention to artificial light by gas, so that the hours for labor, study and enjoyment might be multiplied; and then he was interested in the bringing of pure water into the city, for the health and enjoyment of rich and poor. Fresh, pure water, in abundance, and good drainage for life and health; clear, full light, and not too expensive, to turn darkness into day; knowledge, books, education, schools for poor as well as rich; institutions for art, for charities, for religion,— to all these objects, with a wise enthusiasm, he gave money and his time and his heart. I should be ashamed to come here with fulsome flattery. I would say what history is bound to record; and, indeed, how much better is a life given to such objects, than so many lives that are frittered away or given to results against the general welfare.

There is an instinctive longing in our hearts to live in the memory of men; but who, that thinks, would live to make others wretched? How much better to live to give to poor and rich better education, fuller light, purer air and water, and open the eyes of all to truth, beauty and goodness! Happy they, in the evening hour of life, who can hope that what they have done will make life larger, richer, better, to those who shall come after them!

THE INLAND LOCK NAVIGATION COMPANY.

FIRST REPORT OF THE DIRECTORS AND ENGINEER.*

TO THE HONORABLE THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF NEW-YORK IN SENATE AND ASSEMBLY CONVENED:

The Directors of the Western and Northern Inland Lock Navigation Companies,

RESPECTFULLY REPORT,

THAT in the summer and fall, ensuing the incorporation of the subscribers to the said companies, surveys were made on the Western route, from Schenectady to Wood Creek, and on the Northern route, from the head of the tide water of Hudson's river, to Fort Edward; thence to the Northern Wood Creek, and down the same, to its junction with Lake Champlain.

The object of these surveys, was to ascertain, what improvement the internal navigation on each route was susceptible of, and which in particular, were the greatest obstructions to the

*At page 159 of Volume I. and elsewhere within the present volume, reference is made to the "Inland Lock Navigation Company." To make more complete the history of the changes from the earlier to the later and present modes of transportation through the State of New York, and suitably to introduce some papers concerning the origin of the Erie Canal, these official reports, made shortly after, and by subject and chronologically in close connection with, Judge Vanderkemp's Journal (pages 33 to 116), are here reprinted with as little change, typographically, as possible. They are from an old copy in the possession of the Buffalo Historical Society, bearing the following imprint: "New-York, Printed by GEORGE FORMAN, No. 156, Front-Street.—1796.—"

water transportation, of the agricultural produce of the interior of the state. The result was perfectly favorable, and followed by a determination on the part of the Western Company, to begin its operations at the Falls in the Mohawk river, in Herkemer county, which created a portage, where all boats navigating the Mohawk river, with their cargoes, were transported nearly one mile over land, an operation attended with unavoidable delay, and great expence, as well as with injury to the boats and their cargoes. The work was accordingly commenced in April 1793, with nearly three hundred labourers, besides a competent number of artificers, but its progress was arrested early in September, for want of funds, many of the stockholders having neglected to pay the requisition made by the Directors, either because they had not the means to supply such advances, or from an apprehension of the impracticability of succeeding in the operation.—January, 1794, the work was however recommenced, although feebly, and some progress made, in hopes that the Legislature would afford aid, by grants, or loans of money, or by taking the unsubscribed shares. Accordingly, the Legislature, sensible of the propriety of relieving the stockholders, in one or either of these modes, and appreciating, with that discernment which has invariably characterised the Legislature of this state, the advantages the community at large would derive, from the success of the important undertaking, which they had encouraged individuals to attempt, directed a subscription on the part of the people of the state, of two hundred shares to each company; this measure was attended with the most salutary effects. The hopes and confidence of the companies were revived, and the works recommenced in May last, with a correspondent degree of alacrity; but the very high price of agricultural produce, creating a most extensive demand for labour, it was found impossible to obtain such a number of workmen, as were requisite to the finishing of the work, before the end of the summer.—Hence it was the 17th of November, before the Canal

and Locks were so far completed, as to afford a passage to boats. An account is herewith delivered, of the number of boats which passed to the 18th of December, when the frost rendered the navigation in the river no longer practicable: what remains still to be done at that place, is trifling, and a full completion of all the work, will be effected by a small number of hands, employed for a few weeks, in the ensuing spring.

As a description of the country through which the Canal is carried, a detail of its formation, and delineation of the beneficial effects, which already are, and will hereafter be experienced from it, may not be uninteresting to the community, and in particular to the Legislature, whose deliberations have the interest of its constituents so constantly in view, we beg leave to exhibit the following SUMMARY:

The Canal is drawn through the Northern shore of the Mohawk river, about fifty-six miles beyond Schenectady. Its tract is nearly parallel to the direction of the waters of the fall, and at a mean about forty yards therefrom. Its supply of water is from the river, and the Canal commences above the falls, in a neat, well covered bason of considerable depth of water, and re-enters the river in a spacious bay at the foot of the falls; its length is 4752 feet, in which distance the aggregate fall is 44 feet 7 inches. Five locks having each nearly 9 feet lift, are placed towards the lower end of the Canal, and the pits, in which they are placed, have been excavated out of solid rock, of the hardest kind; the chamber of each lock is an area of 74 feet by 12 feet in the cleave, and boats drawing three feet and an half of water may enter at all times; the depth of water in all the extent of the Canal beyond the locks is various, but not less that 3 feet in any place; near the upper end of the Canal a guard lock is placed without lift, to prevent a redundancy of water; when the water in the river rises beyond the lowest state, sluices are constructed, to discharge the surplus water entering the Canal, from the two small rivulets

which intersect its course; about 2550 feet of the Canal is cut through solid rock, and where the level struck above the natural surface of the earth, or rather rock, strong and well constructed walls are erected, supported by heavy embankments of earth, to confine the water and to keep the level, hence there is no other current in the Canal than an almost imperceptible one, when the summit lock is drawn; three handsome and substantial bridges are thrown over the Canal, at so many roads which have been intersected by the Canal.

The following state of facts, will evince the beneficial influence this important work has had, on the transportation of the produce of the country beyond the falls, and on that of the necessary supplies for the consumption of our useful hardy husbandmen in that quarter, employed in reducing a wilderness to smiling and fertile fields, promoting their own happiness, and the commerce and respectability of the state.

The falls, previous to the improvements above stated, being impassable, even for empty water craft, these with all their cargoes, were transported by land, over a road as rough, rocky and bad as the imagination can conceive, of necessity therefore, the boats were of such construction as might be transported on a wheel carriage, consequently of little burthen, seldom exceeding a ton and a half; each boat, was navigated by three men, and a voyage from fort Schuyler to Schenectady, a distance of 112 miles, and back to the former place, was made at a mean in nine days. Thus the transportation of a ton of produce, if no back freight offered, was equivalent to one man's wages for eighteen days; the Canal and locks can pass boats of 32 tons burthen and upwards, but impediments in the river, still to be removed, between Schenectady and the falls, and between the latter place and fort Schuyler, prevent the use of boats of more burthen than ten or eleven tons, each of these are navigated by five men, and make the same voyage in fourteen days, which if no back freight offers, is at the rate of seven days wages of one man for one ton;

but until improvements shall be made in the river below, and above the falls, these boats when the water in the river is in the lowest state, which is usually from the middle of July to the close of September, can only convey about five or six tons in that period, then the transportation of a ton between the places aforesaid, is equal to the wages of one man for fourteen days, affording still an important saving. The whole time taken to pass the Canal and locks does not exceed three quarters of an hour; the same burthen transported as heretofore by land, caused a detention at the very least, of an entire day and often more; but the advantages above detailed will not be confined to the inhabitants residing in the country on both sides of the Mohawk, between the falls and fort Schuyler, but extended to those in the more western part of the state; when a Canal of little more than a mile and an half in length, through grounds unincumbered with rocks and chiefly cultivated, shall connect the waters of the Mohawk river with those of Wood Creek, and when that creek shall be improved, and some trifling obstructions removed in some few places, in the Onondaga and Seneca rivers, for then boats of ten tons burthen and more, may with facility be navigated to the most remote end of the Cayuga lake. The expence of these improvements, and those requisite between Schenectady and the falls, has been estimated by that able engineer, Mr. William Weston, who has conducted the companies works in the last year, and who has made a critical examination of the whole line, which was the object of the act of incorporation, a report of his, with the estimates alluded to, and others to improve the navigation between Schenectady and the sloop navigation of Hudson's river, are herewith delivered, the aggregate of which, although amounting to a sum, probably beyond the ability of the company, until the most distant period in which by law the works are to be completed, is not only small, but perfectly trifling, when put in competition with the incalculable advantages, to every part of the community, which must

inevitably result from the completion of the work in all the extent of the state.

The directors have already determined to form the Canal, between the Mohawk river and Wood Creek, at Fort Schuyler, and a proper person is sent to that place to receive proposals for furnishing the requisite materials, and proposals have actually been offered for doing the excavating part of the work by contract, on which the directors will decide with all convenient speed, that the operation may commence early next spring; and they hope its completion in the month of November next, unless accidents, not at present foreseen, should intervene to retard its progress.

It is seriously to be lamented, that many of the stockholders, are not in conditions to make advances in the present year, sufficiently extensive, both for the Canal at Fort Schuyler, and also to improve Wood Creek, or the rapids between Schenectady and Schoharie Creek. The directors will, however, think it incumbent on them, to borrow money for those purposes.—If it can be obtained by mortgaging the works already completed. The loan of a sum, equal to half of what the Canal and locks at the falls have cost, would be amply sufficient for two of those objects, with such addition as it may be in the power of the stockholders to contribute.—The account herewith delivered marked A, will shew what that cost amount to, and another marked B, what boats have passed; but as they cannot stipulate reimbursements, sooner than at the expiration of five years, it is little probable that a loan can be made from individuals. Their only prospect of aid must therefore be a respectful reliance on the Legislature, which will undoubtedly appreciate the importance of speedily removing the obstructions alluded to, either by a loan, or by an anticipation of the payments, on the shares in the stock held by the state. And as the estimate, for the removal of all the impediments to the navigation between Schenectady, and the carrying place at fort Schuyler, the Canal and locks at that place, the locks and

other improvements in wood creek, and the obstructions in the Onondaga and Seneca rivers, as far as the southern extreme of the Cayuga lake, a distance of more than 260 miles, adding 10 per cent. on the aggregate for contingencies, amounts to £. 73,540, the proportion of this sum on the two hundred shares belonging to the state, will be only £. 14,708.

The Legislature will permit us respectfully to observe, that should assistance be afforded in either shape, the prospect of a speedy reduction of the price of transportation, would doubtless greatly enhance the value of the property of the people of this state, bordering on the western waters, and recently purchased from the natives, and still unsold.

In the summer of 1793, the directors caused wood creek to be cleared of the timber which had fallen into it, in such quantity as almost altogether obstructed the navigation; and as the serpentine course of the creek greatly increased the distance, from its source to its mouth, beyond that of a straight line, thirteen Isthmus's were cut, which made a reduction in the distance of more than seven miles. Its banks are, however, so thickly covered with trees of the largest size, and so many of those, either from decay, or by the force of winds, are annually thrown into the creek, that it will be indispensably necessary to clear the banks of the timber, for the distance of four rods at least, and contracts are proposed to be made for that purpose. The lands on the south side of the creek, from opposite Canada creek to the Oneida lake, appertain to the state; and we humbly suggest the propriety of vesting the lands, to the extent of the distance above mentioned, in the western company. Should this favor be conferred on the company, and extended to enable them to obtain the same quantity of land on the northern shore, by an exchange with the present proprietors, for an equal quantity, part of the small reservations on the Oneida lakes, purchased from the Oneidas; it is believed the proprietors would be willing to make the exchange.

In the year 1793, the northern company commenced a Canal in the vicinity of Still Water, intending to extend it to Waterford. This business, after considerable progress had been made, was also arrested, and for the reasons which prevented the prosecutions of the works at the falls. A contract was made in that year, for constructing a Canal and locks, to open the navigation of the northern wood creek, with Lake Champlain, obstructed by the falls at Skeensborough. The excavation of the Canal through solid rock is nearly completed, and the locks will be constructed and finished in the present year, if contracts for furnishing the necessary numbers of bricks can be made, and which is now attempted to be done.

In 1794, the northern wood creek was partially cleared of the timber which had fallen into it, and boats are now capable of passing from the falls of Skeensborough, to near fort Ann; and as the road between these two places is exceedingly bad and deep, very considerable advantage has resulted from the operation.

Mr. Weston has examined the direction of the Canal commenced in 1793, near Still Water, and the intermediate grounds to Waterford—the river from Still Water to Fort Edward—the country thence to wood creek, and that creek to its junction with Lake Champlain, and has given it as his opinion, that in all this line, as in the western, the country is more favorable for works such as are contemplated, than any he knows, or has ever been advised of—that the expence will be trifling, compared with any other of equal extent in any neighbouring state which he has visited; but for want of time he was not able to take surveys, on which correctly to form estimates of each particular improvements.

Many of the settlers adjoining the waters on both routes, through which the improvements are intended, and by which the internal navigation, in its present imperfect state, is carried on, have very improvidently fallen the timber from the banks into those waters, to such an extent, as in many places renders

it difficult to obtain a passage. This evil cannot be effectually remedied without further Legislative provision in the premises; and the directors of both companies respectfully intreat the Legislature to afford it.

The valuation of the grounds (through which it has been, and shall hereafter be necessary to draw Canals) in the manner directed by the act of incorporation, has caused serious embarrassment, as well to individuals, whose property is injured by the works, as to the company.—An alteration in this respect is humbly entreated, and the directors beg leave respectfully to suggest, the propriety of enabling the Supreme and Circuit Courts to appoint apprisers, whose decision shall be conclusive, under the sanction of an oath, impartially to estimate the damages, or such other mode as the wisdom of the Legislature shall devise.

The several accounts herewith exhibited will shew the monies which have been received by the directors, and how the same has been expended.

The arrestation of the work in 1793—the extravagant increases in the price of labour and materials—the want of experience in persons of every description, employed in works perfectly novel in this country, with the exception of the engineer in the last year, has greatly enhanced the expence, but which we trust will in future be avoided, as experience has enabled the directors to systamise their operations, and to introduce as much economy in the several requisite arrangements, as a business of this nature is susceptible of—and the directors have reason to believe, from the detailed manner in which the engineer has formed his estimates, that the future expence will be confined to the aggregate amount of those estimates. The directors will not, however, be deterred from prosecuting the works, committed to the companies respectively, with as much celerity as their funds will permit, persuaded, that great and important advantages will result to the

community, however small the retribution may be to the subscribers, at least for some years to come.

All which is most respectfully submitted,
By Order of the Directors of both Companies.

PH. SCHUYLER, President.

NOTE.

From the 17th of November, 1795, to the 18th of December following, eight large boats, and one hundred and two small boats, passed the little falls on the Mohawk, and paid a toll in the aggregate of £. 80 10, exclusive of that on nine boats which passed gratis, on the day when the locks were opened. The season being so far advanced, only a small proportion of boats were navigated on the river in this month, compared with that usually employed in the navigating season.

REPORT

OF MR. WESTON, TO THE DIRECTORS OF THE WESTERN AND NORTHERN INLAND LOCK NAVIGATION COMPANIES.

GENTLEMEN,

AGREEABLE to your instructions of the 16th May, requesting me to examine such works as had been already executed, and such as remained to be done by the two companies, incorporated for the improvement of Inland Navigation in the state of New-York, and to form such plans and estimates as might enable the directors, to form an idea of the sums that would be requisite to carry the contemplated works into effect, I proceeded to an examination of the state of the works at the Little Falls, which being a primary object with the directors, caused me to hasten them, without paying more than a transient attention to the intermediate navigation of that place and Schenectady.

A desire of availing myself of the extensive information and local knowledge possessed by General Schuyler, of the internal navigation of this state, induced me to accompany that gentleman, to the utmost extent of the limits prescribed by the Legislature, as the boundaries of the Western Inland Lock Navigation. Though this examination was performed *first* in point of time, yet I shall defer making any observations at present, deeming it more eligible to lay before the board, a regular and connected account, from the *eastern* extremity, at Hudson's river, to the *western* termination at Lake Ontario.

The reason before-mentioned, having prevented a particular examination of the Mohawk, on my *ascending* it from Schenectady to the Little Falls; and the necessity that was perceived on my return from the westward, of personally inspecting and hastening the completion of the works, at the last mentioned place, unavoidably postponed my re-examination to such an advanced period, as rendered it impracticable (from the height

of the water) to form an accurate judgment of the necessary improvements; and consequently of the attendant expence, previous to a description of the present state of the navigation of the Mohawk; and the means of connecting it with the waters which disembogue to the westward, in lake Ontario. It will be proper to premise, that the *estimates* are formed with a reference to existing circumstances; an increase or diminution in the *value* of *labour* will therefore necessarily produce a proportionable variation in the amount. Keeping this in view, I trust the estimates will be found to approximate as near the truth, as the *uncertainty*, incident to works of this nature will admit. In such parts where the quantities can be ascertained by calculation, the allotted sums will be found as accurate as estimation will allow; but where, from particular circumstances, sufficient data cannot be obtained, much must depend on conjecture: Analogy on experience in similar situations, can alone enable us to form any tolerable idea of the *time* and *cost* of execution: always taking into consideration the *difference* occasioned by dissimilarity of place and circumstance. In every instance I have wished rather to *exceed* than to *fall short* in the aggregate amount: In some places *too much* may have been appropriated, and in others probably not sufficient; but the excess of one, by counter-balancing the deficiency of the other, will produce a *mean*, differing but little from the specified total; provided skill and economy are united in the execution; it being always to be understood that I proceed on the supposition, that the different works are all performed by contract. Having premised so much, I shall commence the survey at the *Cohoes*, proceeding westwardly.

The navigation of the Mohawk near its junction with the north river, is interrupted by a *large fall*, known by the name of *Cohoes*, which descends perpendicularly, upwards of seventy feet. This impediment has occasioned the navigation to terminate at Schenectady. The intercourse between that town and Albany, being carried on by waggons—the *amount* of the

produce annually conveyed—the *badness* of the roads at particular seasons, and the *great expence* of land carriage, have long since rendered it an object of importance to connect these two places by a lock navigation. The most apparent route, and the easiest to be executed, is doubtless by following the Mohawk in its course eastward to the Cohoes, and then by a Canal from the level of the river above Lansing's mill, to form a communication with the Hudson. There are two routes, one of which on the *western shore* of the Mohawk, commences at Lansing's mill, and terminates opposite to *Troy;* the other on the *eastern side*, forms a junction with the Hudson, at Waterford. To enable the board to decide on the most eligible line, I have surveyed both the *plans* and *sections* herewith exhibited, each respectively, will explain the *situation* and *elevation* of the ground, much better than can be conveyed by words; a comparative estimate is subjoined, shewing the difference of expence that will attend on the execution. That the board may form a just conception of the *merits* of the two lines, it will be proper to observe, that the first mentioned one, though nearly *two miles* longer, delivers the boats into *sloop navigation* at Troy: whereas the eastern Canal, by entering the Hudson at Waterford, obliges the boats to descend *that river* to the same point, before their cargoes can be shipped on board the trading vessels; unless this difficulty should be obviated, by an improvement in the north river, so as to render it navigable for vessels of burthen to Waterford. From what has been said, the board will be competent to decide which line will best promote, the interest of the stockholders *individually*, and the community at large.

The *estimates*, when the *distance* alone is taken into view, will appear very great; but when it is understood, that the lockage is upward of one hundred and forty feet, and that the quality of the ground, through which the Canal must be unavoidably connected, is chiefly a slaty rock, removeable in a great degree only by means of powder; when the price of that

article—the high value of labour, and the little progress that can be made in such a material, are also considered, the amount will no longer appear surprising. Though the sum affixed is adequate to the removal of a cubic yard of rock, is much less than has been recently given for the excavation of a road at the east end of the Cohoes bridge; yet I have reason to believe, that by working to the best advantage, the cost will not exceed what I have allowed as competent to the performance. The consumption of powder will unavoidably be great; the exact quantity is not easily to be ascertained. I have calculated the expenditure in proportion to that consumed at the road before-mentioned. The price has been fixed at a medium between the present and usual value. On account of the depth of cutting, I have contracted the width of the Canal in various places, the slopes forming an angle of 45 degrees with the horizon. The towing path is also diminished six feet—the benches are as one to two, or three feet horizontal, to six feet perpendicular. The above dimensions admit the passage of one boat only at a time; but as the distance will not in any instance be great, no inconvenience will result from the measure; especially as meeting places may be formed in the valleys on the western line, without additional expence, and the cost of making them on the eastern line, will be an object of small importance. Some saving may be made in the execution, by dispensing with the towing path, and contracting the benches; but as these are intended for permanent works, I do not recommend the adoption of this measure. It is usual in Europe to tunnle or to form a subterraneous passage, where the depth of cutting exceeds twenty-five or thirty feet.—Independent of the accidents these works are subject to (and which are by no means uncommon) the increased value of mechanical labor in this country, would render this mode nearly, if not quite as expensive as open cutting; which induced me to prefer the last mentioned method. The Canal in common cutting, is proposed to be twenty-sixf eet wide at

the bottom, and thirty-five feet at the surface of the water (which is three feet in depth) the towing path elevated eighteen inches above it, and twelve feet in width: These dimensions are adapted to the size of the locks, as fixed by the Legislature, in the supplementary act of incorporation. The locks are proposed to be constructed in the best manner, with sound, hard burnt bricks; the hollow quoins, and coping, of stone—the chamber capable of receiving a boat seventy feet in length, and twelve feet in width.

At the time the above survey was performed, the water was so high in the Mohawk, as to render a regular examination from the Cohoes to Schenectady, useless; but from a cursory view of the river for six miles above Lansing's mill, and from the information obtained from persons acquainted with the remaining part, it appears that the navigation in general is tolerably good, excepting in three or four places, where short Canals and locks would be necessary; the worst rapid is at Vanderbegh's, six miles from Lansing's mill. The most effectual mode of improvement, will be to cut a short Canal from the upper to the lower end of the fall, on the north-eastern shore—the ground is flat, and apparently free from rocks; the length will not exceed five hundred yards, and one lock will suffice for the ascent of boats. A small, low dam from each bank to an island in the middle of the river, would save some digging, and afford an extention and increase of water in the pond above. From hence to Schenectady, there are two more rapids, where it would be necessary to pursue the same plan. From the upper fall to Schenectady, a distance of four miles, the navigation is good—from this place to Schoharry creek (upwards of twenty miles) there are a continued series of falls, of greater or less extent; the number and situation of these, are accurately detailed by General Schuyler, in his printed report, of 1792; to which I refer the board for further particulars. Judgment and caution must be exerted in the improvement of these rapids; as though inconvenient in them-

selves, they are beneficial in their consequences; rendering the intermediate navigation more perfect, by preventing a too quick discharge of water in a dry season, thereby making a partial navigation, when otherwise there would be none. An opening sufficient to permit a boat to pass through with facility; and a small low dam, with an oblique wing wall, to collect a greater quantity of water in the channel and pond above, is the least expensive mode of execution. It is evident, that this increase of depth obtained by a contraction of the natural chanel of the river, will occasion a proportionate increase of velocity, and a consequent obstruction to the ascending boats: To remedy this inconvenience, it will be always prudent to have the opening near the shore, that the boats may avail themselves of the assistance of a towing path, to facilitate their ascent—when there is a sufficient depth of water above and below the rapid, and the bed of the river is not a solid rock, the remedy is very easily effected. These instances occur very frequently between the little falls and fort Schuyler, as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter. The state of the river to Schoharry creek, is such as to induce me to advise only a partial and temporary improvement, as I am persuaded that in a very few years, a natural and certain increase of trade will demand an attention, which its consequences will doubtless obtain, and that then a Canal on the southern bank of the river, to which purpose it is admirably adapted, from Schoharry to Schenectady, will be deemed absolutely necessary. The distance from Schoharry creek to the little falls, is thirty-six miles, and though there are several rapids, yet improvements will be neither difficult nor expensive. The particular manner of execution, can only be pointed out on the spot, after a minute inspection of each respective rapid.

Passing through the Canal at the little falls, the river continues navigable near five miles, to Orendorff's rift: But previous to a further description, it may be proper to point out

what further steps are necessary to be pursued the ensuing year, to complete the works at the first mentioned places.—The great desire expressed by the board, to have the Canal opened this year, made it necessary to finish partially the different works, in order to effect the desired purpose. The embankments were therefore left in an unfinished state. From the settling incident to them, and equality of the soil, of which they are composed (and which was unavoidably used) it will be necessary early in the ensuing spring, to employ one or two boats to raise such parts as shall require it, and to continue strengthening the banks, until it has obtained a proper form. I have given Mr. Usher instructions to attend to this part of the work, at the commencement of the thaw, in the spring; and I have no doubt he will take every necessary precaution for its stability.

Recommencing the survey, we ascend in good water Orendorff's rift, a very strong rapid; the river being contracted into a narrow, deep channel; half a mile above this is the wolf rift, a wide and shallow rapid, continuing the same to fort Herkemer—the best manner of improving this part, will be to cut a Canal from fort Herkemer, to the deep water, below Orendorff's rift—the ground is very favorable, being free from rock, and with a regular and gentle descent—the length will be ninety-two chains; and the fall of the lock at the east end ten feet, supposing the fall of the upper gate level with the surface of the water above the Wolf rift. To obtain the requisite depth of water in the Canal, I propose to throw a dam across the river, to raise it three feet—this will save that depth of extra digging, the whole length of the Canal, and will also improve the navigation of the two small rapids, above Aldridges. The dam, guard, and river locks may be built with stone, to be obtained on the south side of the Mohawk, at the little falls—the land carriage will not exceed one mile; and it may then be conveyed in boats to the destined spot—the quality is well adapted for these or any other works, where

strength and duration are required—the stones rising in lamina, of different thickness—the beds perfectly parallel, and the dimensions as large as may be required: The expence attendant on this part, will be found detailed in the estimate, annexed hereto.—The distance from Aldridges, to fort Schuyler, is nearly fifty miles—the navigation, with few exceptions, exceeding good. The river from Posts upwards, is much impeded with trees, which render the passage both difficult and dangerous; in some places accumulated to such a degree, as almost to choak up the whole channel—the removal of these should be an object of the first attention; but the labour will be fruitless, if a supplementary clause to the act of incorporation, is not obtained; affixing such penalties as may effectually deter the commission of acts, producing these consequences. As the few rapids in the last mentioned district, have generally deep waters, above and below, and the bottom is either sand or gravel, they will be made navigable at a small expence. From the Mohawk, at fort Schuyler, to wood creek, there is a carrying place of one mile. In the spring there is generally a sufficiency of water to enable the batteaus to descend with their cargoes on board; but in summer season, it is necessary to convey the lading four miles further by land, to Canada creek; and then there is some difficulty to float the empty boat down, though aided by a flush of water, collected in the mill dam, during the preceding night. The ground between the two landing places, is remarkably favorable for the Canal; as the plan and profile herewith exhibited will clearly explain. The surface of the water in the Mohawk, at the upper landing, is sixteen inches higher than that of wood creek, where fort Newport formerly stood. But the navigation from Colbraith's upwards, is very bad, susceptible of improvement only by means of a dam. I have deemed it preferable to conduct the Canal about one hundred yards below White's landing, into good water. The length of the Canal will be one mile, five furlongs, and two chains; and the lift of the lock eight feet;

that being the difference of the elevation between the two points above-mentioned. The soil through which the Canal is carried, being chiefly sand, with a small proportion of gravel, and wholly free from rock, will make the expence of cutting comparatively small. The locks and abutments of the bridges, are proposed to be built with brick.—For the amount and particulars of expence, I refer to the subjoined estimate. It is to be observed, that I suppose the waters of wood creek, aided by those of a small rivulet, running at the foot of the rising ground, on which fort Schuyler stands (and which may easily be conducted into the summit level) will be adequate to the supply of a lock navigation. But should the increase of trade, at a future period, require further resources, they can be obtained by means of a dam thrown across the Mohawk, at the lower landing, so as to raise the waters therein level with those of the Canal, which may be effected at an expence not exceeding one thousand pounds, and without causing any alteration in the rest of the works. Wood creek, from fort Newport to its junction with Canada creek, is circuitous in its course, and the channel to fort Bull, in general, very narrow: the fall to this last mentioned place, is fourteen feet and a half, and the length near four miles—the fall from thence to Canada creek, is eighteen feet six inches, and the length three miles, one furlong, and six chains. The above fall I have divided into six locks; the ground not admitting of more than five or six feet lifts. This part of the creek at present, is tolerably free from trees; but unless the banks on each side are cleared twelve or fifteen yards in width, it will not long remain so—this is so necessary an operation, that it should be immediately carried into execution, from fort Newport to the Oneida lake. From Canada creek, to the royal blockhouse (a computed distance of twenty miles) the channel is much impeded by trees, which lying across the direction of the stream, collect banks of sand, which choak up the passage, and by directing the current obliquely against the banks, undermine

them, and add fresh obstacles to those before accumulated.—The course of the creek is naturally circuitous—the improvements made by Mr. Richardson, have been very beneficial; but much yet remains to be done in the same way, which when effected, will considerably shorten the distance. This operation, and the removal of the trees and banks of sand, by promoting a quicker discharge of water, will produce a decrease in the depths thereof, making it necessary to construct locks and dams, which will then render the navigation of wood creek complete. The number and situation of these works, cannot be ascertained, until a regular survey has been made, which cannot be done conveniently, except in the winter season.

From the royal blockhouse, to the outlet of the Oneida lake, at fort Brewerton, is 24 miles, below which is Coquatanoy rift, about three hundred yards in length; the chief impediment is occasioned by an old Indian eel wear—a wing wall to confine the channel into a narrow compass; removing the loose stones in the bed of the river, and making a towing path on the adjacent shore, will suffice to render this plan navigable. From the outlet of the Oneida lake to the junction of the Seneca, with the Onondago river, at three river point (18 miles) the navigation is perfect, with a current scarcely perceptible. Proceeding up the Seneca river, to the south end of the Cayuga lake, we have a navigation (with one or two exceptions, not worth mentioning) as complete as art or nature could render it.

Indeed the Seneca, instead of being deemed a river, may, with great propriety, be considered as an extension of the Cayuga lake; the channel being wide and deep, with an imperceptible current—in short, from the east end of the Oneida, to the south end of the Cayuga lake, a perfect navigation extending upwards, of one hundred and twenty miles, in a direct course, may be obtained at an expence, not exceeding two thousand pounds—as will be detailed in the annexed estimates—The Cayuga, at the north end, receives the Seneca river, distant from the lake of that name, sixteen miles—

ascending that river three miles, we come to the falls, where there is a carrying place, three quarters of a mile in length. Whenever the western company require this obstacle to be removed, a Canal may be conducted on the north side, from the upper to the lower landing—the length will be six furlongs, five chains; and the fall twenty-seven feet. Proceeding further up the river, we arrive at the little Scawyau—the current is rapid, but sufficiently deep—the removal of an eel wear, and the formation of a towing path, will make the ascent neither difficult nor tedious. From the little to the great Scawyau, the river is deep, and the current moderate. At this place a Canal is practicable on either side—the length will be six furlongs, nine inches; and the fall, fifteen feet, ten inches—from hence the river continues good to the outlet of the lake. It may be proper to observe, that whenever these Canals are carried into execution, great part of the sums expended in their completion, may be reimbursed by the disposal of mill-seats, which are very scarce (and consequently valuable) in this part of the country.

Returning to three river point, we proceed down the Onondago river to Oswego falls (12 miles) in this district, are three rapids, two of which only are of consequence. At Oswego falls, is a short carrying place, but the boats are delivered into very rapid water, extremely difficult of ascent—a Canal may be carried through rocky ground on the south side—the length will be sixty-two chains, and fall eighteen feet—From hence to Oswego, where the Onondago river disembogues itself into Ontario, is a continued rapid for twelve miles. The adjacent shores being very steep and rocky, preclude every idea of conducting a Canal along the bank; as the only remedy, recourse must be had to dams and locks.—Averse as I am to this mode, yet necessity compels us (however reluctantly) to adopt it. The bed of the river being a solid rock, is a circumstance that will undoubtedly contribute much to the stability of the works; and suitable timber abounding on the adjacent shores, will diminish the cost of erection.

The number of these dams, and the quantity of lockage, cannot be ascertained, until a regular survey has been made; but previous to this, or the expenditure of any money, below three river point, it will be adviseable to examine, attentively, every other line of communication with lake Ontario, that has the least appearance of practicability. For this purpose, I shall suggest to the board, the propriety of exploring the intermediate country, between Rotterdam and Salmon creek.—From information obtained at Rotterdam, I understand that the distance from Oneida lake, to the navigable waters of Salmon Creek, does not exceed sixteen miles—that the ground is favorable, being free from rock, and that the sources of Salmon Creek, and the rivulet which enters the Oneida lake, at Rotterdam, rise near each other, and may in all probability, be conducted into the summit level.—If these conjectures should be verified by a regular survey; and if the springs that can be obtained, are found adequate to the supply of a lock navigation, I shall certainly recommend this rout as most preferable, not only on account of its stability, but also for being near thirty miles shorter than the Onondago river. The expence of execution would probably be greater in the first instance; but I am persuaded, would eventually be found cheaper from its permanency.—Arrived at lake Ontario, it is almost superfluous to remark (what is so obvious to every person, the least acquainted with the geography of the state) on the immense expanse of internal navigation, that opens upon our view—the extent of these lakes (with one obstruction only, that doubtless will be surmounted in a few years) presents to the mind—a scene unequalled in any other part of the globe; offering to the enterprising and adventurous, sources of trade, rapidly advancing to an incalculable amount, ensuring a certain recompence to the individuals, who promote, and the state, that patronises their important undertakings.

WILLIAM WESTON.

ALBANY, DECEMBER 23, 1795.

GENERAL VIEW

Of the expence of improving the internal navigation, from the tide water of Hudson river, to the Cayuga lake, by means of Canals, locks, and removing the obstructions in the rivers, so as to render them competent for the transportation of produce in boats of twenty tons, and upwards—drawn from the estimates, made in detail, by William Weston, Esq. Engineer, after actual survey.

To connect the waters of the Mohawk river, with the Hudson, by a Canal, and locks from above the Cohoes falls. An option of the two following routs is offered; to wit:

	£.	s	d
FROM Lansing's mills, above the said falls, by a Canal of 4 miles and 54 chains in length, on the *west* side of the Mohawk river, to the sloop navigation, opposite to the town of Troy.—Six miles north of the city of Albany.——			
Estimated expence, - - - - - -	102,268	4	6
Or,			
From the said mills, by a rout on the *east* side of the Mohawk river, to enter Hudson river, at Waterford, 4 miles above Troy—a distance of two miles, and fifty-one chains.			
Estimated expence, - - - - - -	105,240	13	7
For the Canals, locks, towing paths, and other requisite improvements, in the Mohawk river, from Lansing's mill, to the town of Schenectady—distance, about 12 miles.—Estimated expence, - - - - - -	15,247	0	0
For like improvements, from Schenectady to the mouth of Schohary creek—distance, 22 miles.—Estimated expence, -	15,000	0	0
For ditto—from Schohary creek, to the foot of the falls, in the Mohawk river, in Herkemer county—distance, 36 miles.—Estimated expence, - - - - - -	4,924	0	0
The works at the falls are completed, and boats pass the Canal and locks.			
For like improvements, from the head of the said falls, to the portage, at fort Schuyler, between the Mohawk river, and wood creek—distance, 56 miles.—Estimated expence, -	8,914	15	6

	£.	s.	d.
For a Canal, locks, and towing path, across the said portage —distance, 1 mile, and 52 chains.—Estimated expence, -	12,266	8	3
From the west end of the said Canal, for like improvements, down wood creek, to render it a complete Canal navigation, to its junction, with the Oneida lake—distance, 30 miles.—Estimated expence, - - - - - - -	28,787	0	0
From the east end of the Oneida lake, to the out-let of the Cayuga lake, little is to be done—the distance is 101 miles, and the estimated expence is, - - - - -	2,090	0	0
From the said out-let, to the western extreme of Cayuga lake, is about 40 miles: hence the total distance, if taken from Hudson river, at Troy, is 302 miles, and the aggregate of the estimate for the whole, is, - - - - -	189,497	8	3
Or, if taken from Waterford, the distance is 299 miles, and the aggregate of the estimate is, - - - -	192,769	17	4
The produce of the western country, conveyed by water carriage, is landed at Schenectady; from whence to Albany, there is a land carriage of 17 miles. Hence, if the Canals and locks between Schenectady and the Hudson river, are not constructed, the estimated expence for all the requisite improvements, from that town to the western extreme of the Cayuga lake, will be only - - - - - - - - -	72,982	3	9

And the distance about 285 miles.

To every of the estimates, ten per cent. has been added for contingencies.

FINIS.

REMINISCENCES OF
JOSEPH ELLICOTT.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, DECEMBER 26, 1864.

BY ELLICOTT EVANS, LL.D.

In the history of the world, we know but little of the services which have been done to humanity and civilization by some of the most active agents in their cause. The great names identified with the discovery of principles—with the winning of great contests—with all the various means through which man helps his fellows and advances the progress of his age—these are known and deservedly retain their place in the memory of man, to the latest ages. But the man who has, in his own sphere, and within a limited locality, exerted as direct an influence upon his fellow men, and whose name has, during his own day, been in the mouths of his immediate neighbors, a household word, as well recognized as those of the rulers of the land, and whose services and influence are equally conceded by those who have been brought within their scope,—such a man is remembered only by those who knew him, or who have experienced the immediate benefit of his labors. In another generation his name is all that is known, and later, even that soon ceases to be recognized, except as one of a catalogue which has escaped destruction, but which awakens no responsive idea in the breast of him who recites its records.

Still, the names of such men must have their place in the history of a country, if that history is to be made complete. In the law of change which characterizes the progress of a community or a nation, an idea of that progress is to be realized most fully by a comparison of the visible present with the pictures of the past, which reminiscences of their chief actors most vividly bring out. We are all deeply interested in the workings of a social system whose habits of thought have in part passed away; and one of the chief objects of our Historical Society I conceive to be the preservation or the recovery of details which the dignity of History disregards in the days immediately after their occurrence, but which the lapse of time mellows into precious value.

In this view, the Society has a right to all that I can remember respecting my great-uncle, Joseph Ellicott. But I must caution those who expect a valuable memoir—if there be any such—that this is written where I have had no access to any documents whatever. I have been obliged to trust entirely to memory, and have, therefore, endeavored to speak most at large upon subjects where Mr. Ellicott's life was brought immediately into contact with this city. This naturally gives the sketch an unequal and unsymmetrical appearance to a general reader, as it merely glances at the more important acts of his life, and gives most fully in detail matters of comparative insignificance to any but a resident of Buffalo. No apology, however, on that account, can be due to this Society, as I presume that the details of Mr. Ellicott's relations with this city are what they most desire to have recorded.

Joseph Ellicott was born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, on the first day of November, 1760. His father, Joseph Ellicott, was a farmer, and once held the office of Sheriff under the Crown. Having inherited a small sum in England, he made a voyage to that country and received the legacy, with which he purchased property in Maryland, and built the mills which gave to his place the name, which it still retains, of Ellicott's Mills.

The family were of the Society of Friends, and a portion of even the present generation still adhere to that denomination. Their peaceful profession, however, did not prevent a number of the family from enlisting in the Continental Army during the Revolution. They professed a regret, *after the war was over*, for a course so contrary to the tenets of their Society, and were received again into full membership. As to the sincerity of their repentance I have only the word of my grandmother,—Mrs. Rachel Evans, a sister of the subject of this article,—but from the old lady's exhibition of no particular horror at their defection, and the subject being one which she rather enjoyed discussing, I have always had my doubts; as she herself remained, until her death, a zealous member of the Society of Friends, and would have been as likely as any one to have condemned any participation in war, had not other feelings more than counteracted her attachment to the rules of her denomination.

I have not been able to ascertain in what services of the Revolution any of the family participated, and in this, as in almost the whole of this sketch, can only repeat detached portions of information obtained in desultory conversations.

I have mentioned that Joseph Ellicott, the father of Joseph Ellicott of whom we are speaking, visited England. This was before the Revolution. An example of his mechanical tastes, many now present have seen, viz: the astronomical and musical clock, which he had constructed in England after drawings made by himself. This clock was possessed by his eldest son Andrew Ellicott, and remained at Batavia until about five years since, when it was brought here and thoroughly repaired, and is still an accurate time-keeper. You may remember it at Mr. Fred. C. Clark's for some weeks, and afterward at Mr. Rogers' house, from which it was sent to Albany. I have thought it not unworthy of mention, as it has been described by several travelers through this section of the country at the beginning of this century, and illustrates a taste for

mathematical mechanics shared by a large portion of the family. It contains an orrery with the motions of all the planets then known,—Uranus and the Asteroids not having yet been discovered,—and it also plays twenty-four tunes, being the favorite airs in vogue a century ago.

I have named Andrew Ellicott, the elder brother of Joseph. He was a man of unusual mathematical acquirements for this country at that period, and died at West Point in 1820, where he was Professor of Mathematics. He is favorably mentioned by Humboldt, and I believe corresponded with some of the prominent *savans* of Europe. He was the first to note the shower of meteors on the night of the thirteenth and fourteenth of November, 1799, which led Humboldt to think, from the same phenomenon being reproduced on the same day of the month, in 1833, that we might have it repeated in 1867.

Joseph Ellicott's father was left in straightened circumstances at the close of the Revolution, from the depreciation of the Continental money; and the education which his children acquired was chiefly the result of their own exertions. Joseph Ellicott himself had no other education furnished him than that which he could acquire at a common public school. He assisted his father upon his farm, and also occasionally in his mill. He was always fond of speaking of this period of his life as the happiest. There is no doubt that he needed active exercise to a greater extent than most men, and that a sedentary life was the chief cause of that melancholy which unsettled his mind, and finally led to his death. At this period he enjoyed the most vigorous health, and all the associations of it were pleasing.

His instruction, I have said, was obtained at a common school. But the nature of his subsequent employments rendered a knowledge of books essential to his success in life, and he devoted a great deal of his time to the acquisition of knowledge. But his mind was essentially practical, and he never became a slave to the authority of any name, however distinguished in the field of letters. His reading was extensive,

but it was thoroughly digested, and became a part of his own intellect, which was unusually independent.

In addition to the care and superintendence of the farm and the mill, he often occupied himself in surveying. In this employment he became unusually expert, and was often taken by his brother Andrew—Surveyor-General—as his assistant.

In 1789, he accompanied Andrew in his journey to the West, in order to settle the boundary line between New York and Pennsylvania. Probably some are not familiar with the circumstance that regulates this boundary. It is determined by the meridian passing through the western extremity of Lake Ontario. In order, therefore, to settle the line, it was necessary to proceed to Canada. But, on arriving at Niagara, they were refused admittance, and even denied food. This was owing to the fact that no information had been received of the proposed survey.

A letter had, however, been sent some time previously by President Washington to Lord Dorchester, the Governor of Canada, requesting permission for the exploring party to run their line from the western extremity of Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. Perhaps some one present can state whether Lord Dorchester did not receive the letter in time to give the necessary orders before the arrival of the surveying party. It is certain that no orders had been received, and they were obliged to withdraw from Canada and return homeward. Fortunately, however, they were overtaken by an express messenger, near the Genesee river, conveying to them the necessary permission, and giving orders to furnish them with all the facilities for carrying out their plan. They were also furnished with a guard, by order of the British officers, and were enabled to finish their survey, with the notes of which they returned to Philadelphia.

Joseph Ellicott was afterward engaged in laying out the City of Washington, preparatory to its becoming the seat of government.

Residents of Buffalo will notice a similarity of plan between their city and Washington. Mr. Ellicott proposed to take up his residence here upon lot No. 104—opposite the churches—and he meant it to be central like the Capitol at Washington. The misunderstanding between him and the Commissioners of Highways, as well as the Trustees of the Village of Buffalo, which defeated this plan, will be alluded to in its place.

I cannot give the date of his survey of a disputed line between South Carolina and Georgia. Upon this occasion he was attacked so severely by the prevailing fever at Savannah, that his recovery was contrary to his own and his physician's expectations. He returned again to Philadelphia.

In 1797, he began the survey of the Holland Purchase. It is not necessary to make any statement here of the circumstances which led to that purchase, further than to say that it was made by a Company composed of men in Holland, who had, on the responsibility of the King of France, loaned sums of money to our Government during the War of the Revolution. These gentlemen were probably induced, by the insecurity of property resulting from the French Revolution, to invest largely in property in this section of country, then entirely unsettled.

Mr. Ellicott was selected by their general agent at Philadelphia as the most competent surveyor they could find. He first made the survey of the Company's lands in Western Pennsylvania. He then repaired to the western part of this State, and traced the southern line of Lake Ontario, the Niagara River and the borders of Lake Erie, as far as the Pennsylvania line; and in the winter following he repaired to Philadelphia.

In the spring of 1798, he brought one hundred and fifty hands to assist in laying out the Holland Purchase into townships. In this he was greatly assisted by his younger brother, Benjamin Ellicott, afterwards a Representative for that District in Congress.

The survey of the Holland Purchase was completed before the year 1800. His reports met with the fullest approbation of

his employers, and they appointed him their local agent at Batavia. His contract with the Company bears date November 1, 1800, when he was exactly forty years old.

It is not necessary to enter upon any argument to prove his fitness for this position.—Physically capable of enduring great hardships, possessed of a well stored and vigorous independent mind, and highly gifted with a knowledge of men, it is probable that no man could have been more serviceable to the growth of the region over which he was to exercise such an influence. Even when his views were not the most immediately remunerative to the Company, his ideas were based upon an almost prophetic perception of the future growth of Western New York; and the immediate pecuniary returns were sacrificed to a confident assurance of vastly increased profits to come at a later day, and also to the more rapid development of the resources of this section of country. My meaning will be made clearer when we consider the causes which led to his resignation of the office of agent for the Holland Land Company, in 1821.

A remark of Mr. Ellicott's, some years before this time, will demonstrate how clearly he saw the true position of this region, and what were its resources. He was asked whether he thought that Buffalo would ever be larger than Batavia? "This," said he, "is to ask whether the local office of the Holland Company, or the power of God Almighty is the greatest." His predictions of the growth of Buffalo have not yet been verified, and his plans for the harbor were suited to a larger commerce than it has yet obtained.

It is difficult for the present generation to realize fully the influence exercised by the local agent of the Holland Land Company, as the resources of the country began to develop, and its population and wealth increase. I do not know that we have anything analogous to it in any part of our country at this day. The time has gone by when individuals controlled tracts of country like principalities. The facilities of commun-

ication no longer allow such regions to be virtually isolated, and thus preserve in all its integrity the power of their influential men. Capital also has become abundant, and can be readily attracted to any spot where it will find profits; and thus, no one individual, by wielding a large portion of the resources of a wealthy company, amid comparative poverty, can permanently occupy a superior grade to that of all around him

Such, however, was undoubtedly the position of the local agent of the Holland Company, for the first twenty years of this century. His influence could have become a great political power. It did become a great aid to the cause of education, religion, and the development of the resources of the whole State. Hardly a town can be found upon the Purchase which does not owe a church or a school to the liberality of the local agents. And, certainly, no great undertaking within its borders could have dispensed with the assistance or at least braved the opposition of Mr. Ellicott during his possession of the agency. The Erie Canal is an example.

It is also equally difficult to realize the character of the obstacles to be overcome by the early settlers in their conquest over the wilderness. The same facility of transportation which characterizes the settlement of regions which have attracted capital to them, makes it nearly impossible to understand the entire self dependence of these early settlers. The first great element of civilization, viz: Division of labor, could hardly be said to exist. Shut up in a region almost inaccessible for a considerable portion of the year, and having hardly an outlet for the exportation of their only produce, they present a picture which has not been realized in the settlement of any of our territories during the last thirty years. There are those present who remember the scene, and I think that they will bear testimony to the accuracy of my statement with regard to it; and also to the almost absolute influence which these causes would throw into the hands of a man disposed to exert it politically.

But political power never had any attractions for Joseph Ellicott. He might have continued to serve as Canal Commissioner if he had lived and retained his health, but this would have been solely because he could have been undeniably useful in that capacity. His ambition never led him to seek the votes of his fellow citizens, who would have been only too glad to have fulfilled his wishes. He felt that he was exerting as useful an influence in his capacity of agent as he could have done as an elected officer, and he never asked for political distinction.

I have no intention of giving a detailed account of Mr. Ellicott's services from year to year during the twenty years of his agency. It is enough to state that his policy was to attract capital as much as possible to this section of the country; and, accordingly, his usual advice to purchasers of land was that they should pay little in money, and keep a balance for the improvement of their farms. He was satisfied that in this manner he should assist to the utmost in developing the resources of the country, and also make the security perfectly good for a large permanent income to the Company. The first of these—the security for the debt—was, however, defeated by the consequences of the War of 1812; and the second by the taxation of debts due to foreigners.

It is with the first of these causes alone that I have to deal, as the second did not occur in Mr. Ellicott's day. Many here present remember the panic and the insecurity produced by the war having been brought within our own borders. It was a period of danger and anxiety. The frontiers were, of course, peculiarly exposed to savage, as well as British incursions. Buffalo was burned, and it was evident that the resources of the region were altogether insufficient for its defence.

During this period, the position of Joseph Ellicott was one of great responsibility. His counsel, his influence and his purse were constantly appealed to, and never in vain; and it is due in a great measure to his exertions that the terror was not greater,

and that hope was still retained amid the general despondency.

But the evil effects of the war continued their influence in the Holland Purchase after the war was ended. The period of general bankruptcy which followed the peace, was more disastrous to Mr. Ellicott's policy than the war itself. It was now that the settlers became incapable of meeting their annual obligations to the Company, and the agent felt that leniency was not merely justice but also expediency. The debts were allowed to accumulate still more at a time when European money affairs made the proprietors in Holland anxious to realize every dollar which could be obtained. Thus very little consideration was extended to their agent in view of the motives which had led him to allow this debt to accumulate. The relations between principals and agent continued to become less and less agreeable, and, in 1821, Mr. Ellicott withdrew from the office which he had controlled for more than twenty years.

There is no doubt that Mr. Ellicott's policy was an error, so far as it is dangerous to allow debts to accumulate, and to trust to a continuous increase of capital to increase the facility of obtaining money and of paying liabilities. But the penalty of this error he paid himself,—the benefits of the policy, I have no doubt that we are all reaping.

I have stated that the position and influence of the local agent of the Holland Land Company were such as to render his co-operation almost a necessity for the success of any great measure which was to take place within the Purchase. The history of the Erie Canal I mentioned as an example.

As early as 1807, a series of articles were published by Mr. Jesse Hawley, at Canandaigua, signed "Hercules," advocating the necessity of communication by water between Lake Erie and the Hudson River. About 1808, or perhaps a little earlier, Mr. Ellicott became interested in the project, and examined it with a practical eye. He took into consideration all the points which belonged to it, in the spirit of a practical surveyor, as well as of a man who looked into the future of this

section of the State. His correspondence with the Holland Land Company, with the Canal Commissioners, and with Governor Clinton, between 1808 and 1812, are upon record; and prove how far we are indebted to Joseph Ellicott for smoothing the obstacles which stood in the way of the carrying out of this great work.

In 1812, he offered a donation of 100,000 acres of land towards the completion of the Canal. His favorite project, however, was a ship canal connecting the Tonawanda and Oak Orchard Creeks; but finding that this plan was not adopted by Governor Clinton and the other advocates of the Erie Canal, he bent his whole energies to assisting in the accomplishment of their designs, though he always predicted the final completion of the other. His relations with Governor Clinton were of the most friendly character, and his practical advice was most useful.

A single example of this will illustrate the service which his independent habits of thought, assisted by his education as a surveyor, enabled him to give to this work.

Governor Clinton naturally thought that no risks should be undertaken which might be avoided, and proposed that an experienced corps of engineers should be engaged from England, where canals had been dug, and where practically scientific men could be found. He admitted that this would increase the expenses, but that the increased security would be worth the additional cost; and assumed that it would be dangerous to trust to the unscientific engineers of this country. But Mr. Ellicott at once met this objection. "What is a canal," said he, "but a mill race? Every millwright who understands his business will be as competent an engineer for this canal as the most scientific canal maker in England." Governor Clinton candidly admitted the force of the suggestion, and the Erie Canal was engineered by native science.

Mr. Ellicott, as I have said, had, at a very early period, a full conception of the future growth of Buffalo. In truth, his ideas

were only too sanguine. He saw the causes which must create its growth, while the competing influences had not yet become manifest. The commerce of the lakes, and the Erie Canal, he felt must create a large commercial city at the entrance of that canal; while the railroads, which have made commerce to a certain extent independent of water carriage, were not yet thought of. He feared the competition of a canal through Canada, connecting the lakes, and endeavored to forestall it by a ship canal in our own State, making the same connection. But he never realized the full extent of this competition with the Erie Canal; so that his ideas of the growth of Buffalo were more sanguine than has even yet been realized.

In accordance with these views, he proposed, at some future time, when the gift would be appreciated in the growing necessities of the town, to give to it the land at the mouth of the creek, and to have a triangular harbor dug, extending almost to the Terrace. This was to be the property of the city, which was to build piers after the fashion of those in Atlantic cities, and lease them at a great profit, thus paying almost the entire expense of the city government.

I mention this plan solely because it illustrates Mr. Ellicott's conceptions of the growing necessities of Buffalo; and also because it exhibits the munificence which did not hesitate to give most liberally in carrying them out. But I would not be understood as advocating the idea that the possession of large revenues by the city, aside from taxation, is an unmixed advantage. The history of Stephen Girard's bequest to the City of Philadelphia for the purpose of lightening its taxation, proves that such gifts are apt to have a contrary effect in inducing reckless expenditures for objects which prove failures; and, finally, in greatly increasing the burden of debt.

But the intention was in accordance with all of Mr. Ellicott's views, which had for their first object the growth of this city and the development of the resources of the region which he had once almost controlled. If there were any error here, it was

ror of that lofty kind which does not take self as its chief object.

Another project for the good of the City of Buffalo, through which he hoped to have his name associated with the recreations and enjoyments of its citizens, was defeated by the action of the Commissioners and Trustees. This, perhaps, was the most bitter disappointment that he ever experienced.

Outer lot No. 104, as laid out by Mr. Ellicott, was bounded on the west by the present line of Main Street, on the north by Eagle, and on the south by Swan Street. Eastward, it extended a mile. Midway between Eagle and Swan streets, was a semi-circle of nearly a hundred feet radius, extending even beyond the westerly line of Main Street as it now exists. Mr. Ellicott proposed to build his house upon this semi-circle, which would have been the center to which Niagara Street, Erie Street and Main Street, north and south, converged. Main Street was to be carried around this circle to the west. A fine garden was to be completed, and the whole lot, in time, laid out as a pleasure ground.

Here Mr. Ellicott proposed to take up his residence, and, after spending the remainder of his life in a spot where he could look out from a center upon the city whose future he saw in his mind's eye, even more populous and wealthy—if not more beautiful—than it has ever yet become, he intended to bequeath it to the city as a place of public resort. A magnificent park, certainly, as parks were understood in this country at that time.

Mr. Ellicott's tastes were at that day thoroughly genial, and no monument could be more in accordance with his sentiments, than to associate his name with the great pleasure grounds of this city.

About 1809, the materials had been collected for this residence, and the arrangements made for its erection, when the Commissioners put an end to the plan, by running the street along the main westerly end of the lot, cutting directly through the semi-circle, and isolating the small piece left, from the lot.

Mr. Ellicott always held that the act of the Commissioners was illegal—that they had no authority to run a street of more than four rods width. But he saw that there was no use of present resistance. The stones were removed, and I believe they were used in building the jail. Still Mr. Ellicott hoped that when the village was chartered, he could use his influence with the Trustees to remedy what he considered his wrong. I do not know, however, that he ever made such a proposition. The village was chartered, and Mr. Ellicott's duties and responsibilities resulting from the war, probably took from him all idea of building at that time. But I know that he cherished the hope for a time, though the first disappointment greatly alienated his feelings from the citizens of Buffalo.

But some years after his connection with the Holland Land Company had ceased, his interest in his Buffalo property induced him to build a house, which our citizens know as the Goodrich house, at the corner of Main and High streets. This, however, was never used by him as a permanent residence, nor do I know that it was ever completed by him, though he spent a portion of the year 1825 there, without having relinquished his Batavia residence.

But at this time, disappointment in his business relations, and the absence of a stimulus needful to his health, had already changed the feelings which led him to enjoy the ambition he had once experienced of living in the center of a city for which he had done so much, and was willing to do so much more, to erect.

I cannot but deeply regret this whole transaction on the part of the Commissioners. Surely a little of our Yankee love of straight lines could have been allowed to give way to the wishes of a man whose soul was bound up in the prosperity of this town, and whose weakness—if it can be called one—was only to be the chief citizen of a city which he would sacrifice almost anything to advance. I believe that with such a desire gratified, he would have found the stimulus, which, in after

days, he lost with the loss of his active life, and that he might have been spared the terrible future in store for him. And I am free to confess, that, in common with a large number of those attached to him by blood and name, it is a source of grief that he was thus deprived of a certain means of linking his name with the growing prosperity of this city, as long as it shall last, and that we are obliged to contemplate the prospect of that name dying out of the memory of his fellow citizens, almost with the present generation.

About 1823 or 1824, his health had become considerably impaired. His mind, withdrawn from active exertion, seemed to brood over the past without any interest in the present. He became despondent and melancholy even to hypochondria. At his own request he was taken to New York, where he yielded to the advice of three principal physicians of that city, of whom I only remember Dr. Post as one, and entered the lunatic asylum at Bloomingdale. Here, however, his restlessness increased, and with it his melancholy, and before steps could be taken to remove him, he committed suicide on the nineteenth of August, 1826.

In discussing the character of Joseph Ellicott, I can only use the desultory recollections which have been my sole guide hitherto, in this article. I know but little that would give characteristic ideas of the man.

But one marked feature, closely associated with greatness of character, he evidently possessed. He was a just man. Possessed of a strong will—impatient of opposition—of a quick temper, and wielding great power as he did, it is remarkable that so few had occasion to complain of him. He was often hasty, and sometimes unnecessarily severe for a time, but he rarely, if ever, failed to make reparation in the end.

In politics he belonged to the Republican or Anti-Federalist party; and, although an ardent partisan at times, he never, as I have stated, sought office for himself, nor have I ever heard of his using his vast influence, politically, in a coercive manner.

Until near the close of his life he was extremely genial and fond of society. But his malady in his latter years hung about him like a cloud; and rarely has a man been seen with such concentrated gloom as marked his diseased mind for a year or two before his death.

He was fond of the society of the young, and one of my own earliest recollections was hearing him, in his own house, relate an anecdote to a visitor. It was an account of one of his meetings with Red Jacket, and, as it was so characteristic of that chief, I shall make no apology for relating it.

Red Jacket, it is well known, was extremely jealous of the progressing settlement of the country by the white man, feeling that it was the precursor to the extinction of his nation. This feeling made him very unfriendly to Mr. Ellicott, whom he naturally regarded, in this respect, as the chief enemy of his race. Still he was always courteous. On one occasion Mr. Ellicott met him in the Tonawanda swamp, and they sat down together on a log. After a few moments of silence, which Mr. Ellicott knew too much of Indian habits to interrupt, Red Jacket exclaimed, "Move along, Joe." The request was complied with, and after a few minutes of silence it was repeated. This was done several times, until Mr. Ellicott had moved to the extremity of the log. After the usual pause the order came again, "Joe, move along," but in reply it was shown that there was no room on the log to allow of this. "That," said Red Jacket, "is the way the white man treats us. He first says 'move along a little,' then 'a little more,' and when we have moved as far as we can, he shoves us out of the world."

Mr. Ellicott had a habit of taking young people gently by the ear as a kind of greeting, and with something of the same habit he used to annoy the Indians a good deal by pulling the little tufts of hair to be found occasionally on their chins. From this they gave him the name of "*Gee-nee-une-dos-sase*," or, "The Mosquito," as I have heard it translated from the Sen-

eca tongue. Mr. Ellicott was not at all pleased with the designation, but the Indians never changed it.

They called Benjamin Ellicott by a name signifying "The man who knows all the world." This arose from seeing him draw maps by field notes; and, finding him accurately laying down water courses which they recognized, but knew that he could never have seen, they gave him credit for wonderful knowledge. Perhaps few things could make a more striking impression upon the mind of an illiterate savage than such an exhibition of knowledge.

From Mr. Ellicott's early associations, and the fact that all his religious instruction was received from the Society of Friends, he did not attach the same importance to creeds that is given to them by other denominations. Works rather than faith appealed to him. He made no distinction in his generosity to religious sects. All that he asked assurance of was the sincerity of the petitioners and their need of his assistance.

He was never married, and he often expressed regret on that account. It was undoubtedly to be regretted, as the influence of a wife and family might have done much to have prevented the gloom of his later years, and the violent means which closed them.

I have thus completed the work requested of me by the Society, very imperfectly as regards general information, but as my principal object was to give a full idea of the history of the transaction respecting outer lot No. 104, with regard to which many questions have been asked me, I shall not consider my labor to have been thrown away if I have succeeded in making that point clear to those who have had an imperfect knowledge of the subject. A detailed memoir of Joseph Ellicott, exhibiting his life minutely, and detailing at large the transactions of his agency from year to year as they affected the history of this section of the State,—such a paper is a great desideratum; and from the documents in possession of the So-

ciety, and such as could be obtained, I should think the task one of no great difficulty. In the mean time, the reminiscences of all who lived in his day should be recorded as material which each succeeding year will render more valuable to him who would write the history of our city.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE

PRESS OF ERIE COUNTY.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, NOVEMBER 30, 1863.

BY GUY H. SALISBURY.

THE paper which I have the honor to read to you this evening, has been prepared from materials gathered by me some sixteen years ago. They were then got together in compliance with the request of a committee, appointed at a Convention of Editors and Publishers, held at Rochester, in 1846. In order to procure the facts necessary for the compilation of a History of the Press of Western New York, suitable persons, in the several counties of the western part of the State, were addressed, and from the facts thus obtained, an interesting and valuable history was published by the committee. The Convention was presided over by Augustine G. Danby, of Utica (with whom E. A. Maynard, now of this city, was formerly associated in the publication of the "Utica Observer.") Mr. Danby was the editor and publisher of the first newspaper published in Rochester, in 1816. Among the members of the Convention were James D. Bemis, who was a newspaper publisher at Canandaigua, as early as 1803; L. H. Redfield, of Syracuse, once an apprentice of Mr. Bemis, and one of the earliest publishers of Onondaga county; Edward Peck, pub-

EARLY HISTORY OF THE PRESS OF ERIE COUNTY.

lisher of the second newspaper at Rochester, in 1818; Frederick Follett, who published a paper at Batavia, in 1825; Rev. John A. Robie, now editor of the "Christian Advocate," of this city, and then of the "Genesee Evangelist." The "Buffalo Commercial Advertiser" was represented by Doctor Thomas M. Foote, and the "Buffalo Morning Express" by Almon M. Clapp.

The history of the newspapers hereinafter mentioned, does not, therefore, come down later than the year 1846; and I have not now continued it to the present time, for the obvious reason that it would be impossible to obtain the needful data in the limited time I have had for the preparation of this paper. I intend, hereafter, to write up for publication all the changes that have since occurred in the newspaper establishments of the county, including the new papers that have, from time to time, been started, in the interim from 1847 to the time of writing.

When the notes were gathered from which this present history has been compiled, great pains were taken to have names and dates correctly stated, and they are, therefore, as reliable as the circumstances would admit of. Still, much had to be supplied from personal memory, and obtained from the vague recollections of others, and entire accuracy is not to be looked for.

We give, firstly, the history of the "rise and progress" of those newspaper establishments which are now in existence in this county—the fortunate survivors of a host of aspirants to fame and favor, now defunct. Surrounded by the wrecks of the past, these living ones should feel sensibly impressed with the fate of their dead and gone predecessors and contemporaries. It is well to consider the ample list of those others, which, in their time, were talented and influential papers, now gone to the crowded "tomb of the Capulets," as a *memento mori*.

The first paper published in Western New York, this side of Canandaigua, excepting a little sheet at Batavia, in 1807, was the "Buffalo Gazette," of which the first number was issued

on the third of October, 1811, by the brothers, Smith H. and Hezekiah A. Salisbury, who came hither from Canandaigua, where they had learned the art of printing of James D. Bemis, then publisher of the "Ontario Repository." The "Gazette" was printed on a sheet of coarse, bluish paper, not half the size of one of our present city dailies, and having but four narrow columns on a page. The publishers had brought out a small stock of books and stationery, and managed to nearly fill the paper with advertisements of their own slender assortment, well "strung out." The "Gazette" was edited by S. H. Salisbury until January, 1818, when he transferred his interest in the paper to Wm. A. Carpenter, who officiated as editor until the April following, when he relinquished his interest to H. A. Salisbury, his partner, who changed the title of the paper to "Niagara Patriot," and continued its sole publisher until the first of January, 1836. On the organization of the present County of Erie, in 1820, the territory of which was formerly included in the old County of Niagara, the title of the paper was changed to "Buffalo Patriot." In 1826, the editorship of the paper was again assumed by Mr. Carpenter, to whose able pen may be measurably ascribed the success of the anti-masonic movement, which, in that exciting era, politically revolutionized this county. That accomplished, Mr. Carpenter left the chair editorial for a time, and was succeeded by Harvey Newcomb, in 1829, who continued for about one year, when Mr. Carpenter again took the helm and steered its political course up to 1834. On the first of January, 1835, the first number of the "Daily Commercial Advertiser" was issued from the office of the "Patriot," on a super-royal sheet, and edited by Guy H. Salisbury. On the first of January, 1836, Bradford A. Manchester purchased one half of the establishment, and the paper was published by Salisbury & Manchester for the ensuing six months, edited a part of that time by Dr. Thomas M. Foote, and for a short period by T. C. Peters. On the first of July, in that year, H. A. Salisbury retired from

business, and Dr. Foote and Guy H. Salisbury associated themselves with Mr. Manchester, and published the paper until August, 1838, when Almon M. Clapp, publisher of the "Standard," at Aurora, merged his paper in the weekly "Patriot," and became one of the editors and proprietors of the "Commercial" and "Patriot." Mr. Manchester withdrew from the business a few weeks afterwards, and the concern was carried on by the remaining partners, under the firm name of Salisbury, Foote & Co., until May, 1839, when Messrs. Salisbury and Clapp disposed of their interests to Dr. Foote and Elam R. Jewett, which latter gentleman was, at that time, publisher of the "Daily Buffalo Journal," which was merged in the "Commercial" by the arrangement. The united papers were thenceforward published by E. R. Jewett & Co., and edited by Dr. Foote, assisted at times by Dr. Daniel Lee, until 1847, the year to which these sketches are brought.

The "Buffalo Republican," the first Democratic paper published in this county, was started in April, 1828, weekly, by Wm. P. M. Wood, who published it until September, when it passed into the hands of Smith H. Salisbury, and Wm. S. Snow. In April, 1829, Mr. Snow disposed of his interest to Mr. Salisbury. In the spring of 1830, it was purchased by Henry L. Ball, and carried on by him until some time in 1831, when he sold out to Charles Faxon and James Stryker, which latter gentleman had edited the paper while in the hands of Mr. Ball, and continued as its editor until October, 1834, when Charles Faxon bought his interest, and Horatio Gates came in as editor. Israel T. Hatch, in 1831, and Henry K. Smith, in 1834, were likewise its political editors. In the spring of 1835, the "Bulletin," a weekly paper, and the "Daily Star," both of which were then published by James Faxon, were purchased by Charles Faxon, who thereupon merged the "Bulletin" in the "Republican," and continued the "Star" as the daily. In August, 1838, Mr. Gates retired from the editorship, and was succeeded by Wm. L. Crandall. The establishment

was destroyed by fire in December of that year, and was necessarily suspended for several weeks, to procure materials, &c. The publication of the paper was resumed in February, 1839, by Quartus Graves, who had bought out Mr. Faxon, and Mr. Gates returned to his editorial duties, with J. W. Dwinnell as assistant, for a short period. In April, 1840, Mr. Gates again left the political arena, and his post was taken by Stephen Albro, with J. C. Bunner as assistant for a few months. In April, 1841, Mr. Albro was superseded by Samuel Caldwell, who, after a few weeks' trial of the pains and pleasures of the life editorial, relinquished it, and A. C. Bunner assumed the charge of the paper, until Mr. Graves sold out to Henry Burwell, first of January, 1842, who changed the title of the paper to "Democratic Economist," of which Henry White took the editorial charge. On the first of October, 1842, Joseph Stringham purchased the establishment, and issued the daily under the title of "Mercantile Courier," of which he was the editor. On the first of July, 1846, the "Daily National Pilot," which was published by Bradford A. Manchester and James O. Brayman, was united with the "Courier," and the paper was carried on by Stringham, Manchester & Brayman, until November, 1846, when Mr. Stringham disposed of his interest to his partners, and Guy H. Salisbury was associated with Mr. Brayman in its editorial management. The "Courier" is now the oldest daily paper in the city, having been first started as the "Daily Star," in April, 1834.

The "Morning Express," daily and weekly, was commenced on the fourteenth of January, 1846, by Almon M. Clapp, Rufus Wheeler and William M'Credie, under the firm of A. M. Clapp & Co.—Mr. Clapp as editor. In October following, W. E. Robinson was associated in its editorship.

The "Republic," daily and weekly, was started in January, 1847, by an association of journeymen printers, under the firm of Livingston, Albro & Co. After passing through several changes of proprietors and editors, which cannot be here par-

ticularized, for the general reason previously given, it was merged in the "Daily Courier" a little over two years ago.

"Der Weltburger," a German Democratic weekly paper, was started in December, 1837, by George Zahm. In the fall of 1844, Mr. Zahm was killed while assisting in raising a hickory pole in Cheektowaga, and the administrators of his estate carried on the paper until the fall of 1845, during which time it was edited by Jacob M. Zahm. It was then purchased by Dr. F. C. Brunck and J. Domidion, who commenced issuing it, semi-weekly, on a small imperial sheet, and enlarged the weekly to the size of the other city papers.

The "Telegraph," a weekly neutral German paper, super-royal size, was commenced in November, 1845, by H. B. Miller—Adolphus Heilman, editor.

The above is a strictly outline sketch of the origin and progress of those of our city journals which were in being prior to 1847, and still exist, and embraces a portion of those of which they were the lineal successors. The early history of several others, that have been "merged" in the present papers, will now follow, together with an extended "obituary" of a large list, which have, from time to time, been on the busy stage of hebdomadal and diurnal existence, in the city and county, to flourish for a season and pass away, like all earthly things—upon which the relentless hand of Fate has inscribed the significant *Hic Jacet.*

It is curious to note the surprising number of these unsuccessful newspaper undertakings. The reason is unquestionably to be found in the fact that the enterprise of the publishers was a good deal larger than their capitals. In most instances it was the rashest temerity that prompted them to embark in business requiring large permanent outlay, depending almost altogether on continued credit for the means. No other branch of manufacturing could be even as well managed in the same way; for printers are quick at expedients, and often have to make brains answer for bullion. But the *In Memoriam* will tell its own story:

The second paper which made its appearance in the Village of Buffalo, was the "Niagara Journal," commenced in July, 1815, by D vid M. Day. Its title was changed to "Buffalo Journal," when Erie County was set off from old Niagara. It was edited by several of the leading politicians of those years, say to about 1822, when R. W. Haskins contributed mainly to its editorial columns, until Oran Follett became a partner with Mr. Day, in 1826, and assumed the editorship. In 1827, Mr. Haskins became one of its proprietors, and joint editor. In 1830, Messrs. Follett and Haskins retired from the establishment, and it was carried on by Mr. Day, until 1834, when it was sold to Elijah J. Roberts, who, in the summer of that year, issued from the office a daily of large size, under the name of "Daily Advertiser," for about six weeks. Colonel Morgan was assistant editor with Colonel Roberts, and the late Comfort F. Butler became one of the publishers. In the early part of 1835, the paper was suspended, after an existence of nearly twenty years, during the greater part of which time it had enjoyed a large patronage, and bid fair for a long life of prosperity. But Mr. Day had established during the winter previous, a new weekly paper, the "Buffalo Whig," of which R. W. Haskins was editor; and the personal popularity of Mr. Day won him the patronage of his friends, the old supporters of the "Journal," which thus went down.

Soon after the suspension of the "Journal," its title and subscription list were purchased by Mr. Day, who added the title of the "Journal" to his new paper, and thus again set afloat the sinking craft which he had gallantly sailed for nigh a score of years. On the first of January, 1836, Mitchenor Cadwallader and Dr. Henry R. Stagg became partners with Mr. Day, and in the February following commenced the daily "Buffalo Journal," edited by Messrs. Cadwallader and Stagg. In 1837, Mr. Day retired, and the paper was continued by Messrs. Stagg & Cadwallader, until the fall of 1838, when the establishment was purchased by Elam R. Jewett, and Dr. Daniel

Lee and J. B. Clarke took the editorial charge. In May, 1839, the "Journal" was merged in the "Commercial Advertiser," as before mentioned.

In September, 1824, John A. Lazelle and Simeon Francis commenced the "Buffalo Emporium," a weekly paper, which acquired a speedy notoriety by its very remarkable editorial inaugural, certainly the most singular specimen of composition that was ever put forth on such an occasion. The cut which ornamented the head of the paper is well worth a peep at, as showing a bird's-eye view of our canal and lake business at that period. It represented the canal with one solitary boat, and the harbor with four or five schooners, and with no buildings below the canal, save three or four famished-looking warehouses. The census of 1825, taken by Captain Leonard P. Crary, showed a population of 2,412 in Buffalo Village, which was a gain of one hundred per cent. within the four previous years. The marine belonging to Buffalo consisted of one steamboat, the "Superior," six schooners and one brig. The "Emporium" was issued semi-weekly, from December, 1826, being the first publication other than weekly made in this place. It was discontinued in the latter part of 1829, when Mr. Lazelle removed to Columbus, Ohio, where he still resides, an independent farmer. Mr. Francis went to Springfield, Illinois, where he published the "Sangamon Journal" for many years.

During the winter of 1827-8, a paper was started by Charles Sentell and Billings Haywood, entitled "Western Advertiser," and devoted to the cause of Anti-masonry, then making rapid progress in this section. The late Oliver Forward and James Sheldon were active contributors to its columns. The paper, after three months' existence, was merged in the "Buffalo Patriot,"—a fact which we omitted to chronicle in the career of that print.

In the spring of 1830, Horace Steele commenced issuing the "Buffalo Bulletin," a weekly, which advocated the interests of

the "Working Men," then forming a distinct party organization under which Isaac S. Smith, of this city, was run for Governor. Mr. Steele continued the paper after the political objects of that party were abandoned, as a Democratic paper. About February, 1831, it was bought by James Faxon, and Mason Brayman became its editor. In July of that year, Mr. Faxon issued the first daily in this city, with the name of "Daily Star," which was at first neutral, but in November following came out Democratic. In the spring of 1835, the establishment was sold to Charles Faxon, who united the "Bulletin" with the "Republican," and continued the "Star" as the daily, as we have before noticed.

About the first of August, 1835, the "Transcript," daily and weekly, was started by Henry Faxon, and at first edited, if we mistake not, by E. J. Roberts. In December, the editorship was taken by Edward H. Thompson. The paper lived for six months.

There were also issued, about this period—in 1835—several other small daily sheets, of which we only recollect the "Daily Whig" and the "Daily Enquirer." These lived but two or three weeks, and passed into oblivion.

We must not overlook a rare little weekly sheet issued for a few weeks, in the winter of 1835-6, called the "Loco-foco," the object of which was a hearty and honest opposition to monopolies and all sorts of abuses. It was a vigorous and racy affair—the embodiment of what might be called philosophical Loco-focoism, before it became so important an element in the political field—in short, the paper was something after the style of Leggett's "Plain Dealer." For its peculiar doctrines, that well known old resident, Sylvester Chamberlain, was held responsible, as principal editor. Though not aspiring to the title of "Learned Blacksmith," his wit and sound good sense were none the less acceptable from his having hammered at the anvil. He was assisted by a number of talented coadjutors, whose names were "under the rose." The eloquent S. C. H., the

shrewd jurist N. K. H., and the humorous S. G. H.* were those whom we recollect among them. There was an admirable political axiom, from an article furnished to the "Loco-foco" by one of these gentlemen, to this effect—"*There are two things which God never intended should be created—mules and corporations.*" Such was the sententious, truth-in-a-nutshell style of this original little paper. But, like the lightning's flash, 'twas brilliant and 'twas brief.

In the winter of the famous "Patriot War," an association of journeymen printers got up a spicy little weekly sheet, called the "Buffalonian;" edited by that versatile genius, Mr. "Anon." As it "took," as the phrase is, it was, after a few weeks, issued daily by F. B. Ward & Co., and Mr. Anon turned into Mr. George Arlington. Its flash style, and biting personalities, rapidly procured it a large circulation, and Mr. Arlington changed into Mr. Thomas L. Nichols. In the fall Mr. Nichols left the concern and started an opposition print of like species, yclept "Mercury." The "Buffalonian" was continued under the editorial charge of J. W. Dwinnell, and divested of its obnoxious features, until it was found to be like playing "Hamlet," with the part of Hamlet left out; and in some two months, Mr. Nichols bought out the "Buffalonian," and united the "Mercury" with it. It continued in his hands until the fall of 1839, when N. R. Stimpson went into it, and published it until the succeeding spring, when it died a natural death, having run itself out.

The "Sun," daily and weekly, was commenced in the winter of 1838-9 by "Governor" Dinsmore. It went into the hands of E. H. Eastabrooks in the May following, and was discontinued in October.

The "Buffalo Sentinel," a daily and weekly, was started in the spring of 1839-40, by C. F. S. Thomas and Thomas Newell. It was edited for a while by Thomas L. Nichols, and for

* Seth C. Hawley, Nathan K. Hall and Solomon G. Haven.—*Ed.*

about three months by Henry Reed, Jr. It was discontinued after the fall election.

The "Morning Tattler," daily, was issued in the summer of 1840, by Langdon, Fouchette & Shaefer, and edited at first by George W. Bungay, and subsequently by Thomas L. Nichols, for a short time. It was then published for a few months by John S. Walker, as the "Morning Times," when it went dead one day.

"Honest Industry" was the name of a large and handsome paper edited by Dr. Daniel Lee, of which the first number was issued in the summer of 1840, and which, as its title imports, was devoted to the cause of the working classes. From some defect in the arrangements, no more numbers ever came out, to the great grief of honest Jesse Beck, who had embarked in a crusade for Legal Reform.

The "Phalanx," issued in 1840, daily and weekly, was the first daily paper published on this side of the Atlantic devoted exclusively to the advocacy of the social reform, and the reorganization of labor, originated and taught by Charles Fourier and Albert Brisbane, and what have been denominated the doctrines of "Association." It was edited by Charles D. Ferris, with much ability, but the public are not philosophers, and new notions have to work their way slowly. The "Phalanx" was discontinued at the end of six weeks. It was not exactly known who was proprietor, but C. C. Bristol stood the expense.

A German weekly paper was started by the Whigs in the spring of 1840, called "Volksfreund," which was edited by Adolphus Meyer. It was only kept up till just after election that year.

Another German weekly was commenced January 1, 1843, by Alexander Krause and Adolphus Meyer, which pursued a neutral course for the first year, and then came out Whig. It lived after this until the summer of 1845. This was called the "Freimüthige."

The "School Reader" was a weekly publication designed for the use of schools, which was issued in 1842, by A. W. Wil-

gus, edited by R. W. Haskins. It was admirably designed for the object aimed at, but did not obtain a patronage commensurate with its merits, and was discontinued at the end of the first quarter. It was thought that a journal of that kind, to be read weekly in schools as a part of the studies, would be found so useful and interesting an auxiliary to the teacher, as to meet with general favor, if perseveringly kept up and introduced to public notice.

The noted Thomas Jefferson Sutherland, the redoubtable Patriot General of the Western Division of the Liberating Army of Canada, published in the winter of 1841-2, a few numbers of a paper—semi-monthly—under the sounding title of "Sublime Patriot." What its effect upon the destinies of Canada would have been, had it been kept in being until now, has not yet been ascertained.

The "Buffalo American," a weekly paper, designed for the mechanical and working classes, was commenced in the winter or spring of 1842, by Thomas Foster and C. F. Butler, and edited by J. C. Bunner. It was discontinued at the end of its first volume.

The "Daily Gazette" was started in August, 1842, by Charles Faxon, 2d, and after a few weeks, a weekly entitled "Old School Jeffersonian," was issued, which sustained the administration of President Tyler. In February ensuing, these papers were discontinued, when the "Buffalo Gazette," daily and weekly, was commenced by H. A. Salisbury, B. A. Manchester and James O. Brayman. The "Gazette" was continued until the end of its second year, in February, 1845, when it was discontinued, and Messrs. Manchester and Brayman established the "National Pilot," daily and weekly, in conjunction with R. W. Haskins, who was associated with Mr. Brayman in its editorship. The plan of the "Pilot" was new and peculiar—aiming at a nationality of interest and feeling that should render Americans freer from English influences in their literature, their science, their political economy, and their views of the political and social

condition of the world at large. In April, 1846, Mr. Haskins relinquished his editorship, and on the first of July, the "Pilot" was united with the "Courier," as before mentioned.

The "Temperance Standard," exclusively devoted to the subject of Temperance, was published during 1842, one year, by H. A. Salisbury and A. M. Clapp.

There has been equally as great a mortality among the religious publications that have been attempted here. That they have not been more successful in establishing themselves upon a permanent foundation, is not to be attributed to any lack of merit on their part—for some of the number have been conducted with much ability and industry—but rather to the fact that the religious papers in the large cities have so greatly the advantage over those published in the interior, from their great circulation, aided by extensive agencies all over the Union.

The "Gospel Advocate," Universalist, was commenced in 1822, by Rev. Thomas Gross, editor and proprietor. On the expiration of the first year, it went into the hands of Simon Burton, who carried it on for the ensuing three years. It was then taken by Rev. L. S. Everett, Rev. Theopholis Fisk, and —— Tuttle, who published the paper in this place until 1828, when it was removed to Auburn, and subsequently united with the "Evangelical Magazine," at Utica.

The "Western Evangelist," a religious paper, of the Universalist denomination, was commenced in June, 1846, by Rev. L. S. Everett, editor and proprietor, but was not long-lived.

The "Warning" was a little periodical, published once a fortnight, during the year 1828, by Rev. Jabez B. Hyde, and which was entirely devoted to the explanations of the personal wrongs and grievances sustained by him in consequence of the action of the Buffalo Presbytery upon his ministerial functions as missionary among the Indians. It was a curious specimen of typography, as Mr. Hyde bought some old type, and learned to set them in his old age, for the purpose of spreading his case before the public, and composed the matter with his own hands,

without much reference to the established rules of the art.

There was a periodical printed and published at the Mission House, on the Indian Reservation, near this city, for several years, in the Seneca language, under the charge of the missionary, Rev. Asher Wright. It was designed to aid the religious teachings to the Indians, which the Mission was instituted for. We paid a visit to the "office" some years since, and found the workmen engaged upon it were a couple of young Indians, who had been taught enough of the "art and mystery" to set up the gutturals that make up their native tongue. The paper was removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation, since the Senecas left our vicinity, where it was printed under the title of "Mental Elevator," but whether that was its original name, or when it was commenced, we have not learned. The numerous accented characters which are employed in the Seneca language make the paper much resemble the phonographic prints —only a little more so.

The "Gospel Banner" was a monthly periodical published by Benjamin Clark, of Alden, in this county, which was printed for a short time in this city in 1832 or 1833. It advocated a general union of Christians into one body—the consequent doing away of sects, and the observance of the seventh day as the Sabbath.

The "Buffalo Herald" was a Presbyterian paper, which was started in 1831, by Rev. Randolph Stone, and of which two numbers only were issued, when a disagreement with the proprietor of the office where it was printed, resulted in its discontinuance.

The first temperance paper published in this city was the "Young Men's Temperance Herald," which was commenced in 1835 and continued for one year. It was conducted by Abel M. Grosvenor and Ezra B. French.

The "Philanthropist" was a monthly publication by Nathaniel Potter, Jr., issued for perhaps a year, in about 1837 or 1838—the object of which, as implied by its title, was the

general welfare of mankind. We believe it went strongly for universal peace and non-resistance.

The "Buffalo Spectator," Presbyterian, was established in 1836, by Messrs. T. & M. Butler, and edited by Rev. Stephen Peet. It was published about two years.

The "Bethel Flag" was a monthly publication, designed for the advancement of the moral and religious condition of the boatmen and seamen on the canal and lakes, which was commenced by the Bethel Society, in 1836 or 1837, originally with the title of "Bethel Magazine." It was doubtless of much usefulness in its sphere, and kept the field until about 1845, when it was united with the "Sailor's Magazine" in New York.

The "Friend of Youth" was a highly useful monthly periodical, devoted to the moral culture of the rising generation, which was commenced in 1839 and published for one year. It was edited by Rev. A. T. Hopkins.

The "Western Presbyterian" was published for one year, commencing March 1, 1841, by Rev. John C. Lord, D.D.

There have been a few literary undertakings that have not been sustained in our city, as below set forth.

The "Literary Enquirer" was the first literary journal published in this city, and was started by Wm. Verrinder, January 1, 1833, as a semi-monthly, under the auspices of the Buffalo Lyceum. It was conducted with ability, and with great industry, but the publisher bestowed more expense upon it than its patronage warranted. After sustaining it for two years, he finally removed the concern to Fredonia, Chautauqua County, where it was changed into a political newspaper.

The "Buffalo Garland," by Geo. W. Bungay, a weekly literary sheet, was issued for a brief season in 1840, when it faded, "all cent-less and dead."

"Bannister's Life in Buffalo," weekly, edited by N. H. Bannister, the author of several tolerably successful plays, was printed by Governor Dinsmore, for a few weeks, say in 1841, when the curtain dropped.

"The Impetus," by E. W. Spaulding, was a quarto, issued for six months, in the summer of 1845, when the impetus proved insufficient to propel it farther.

The "Literary Messenger" was started in July, 1841, as a semi-monthly, by John S. Chadbourne. In July, 1842, Charles D. Ferris took one half the concern, and the paper was issued weekly. Mr. Ferris remained in it for one year, when he was succeeded by Jesse Clement. In May, 1846, Mr. Chadbourne's interest was purchased by Charles Faxon, 2d, and the paper was for a short time published under the firm of Clement & Faxon. It was then taken by Jewett, Thomas & Co., and continued till 1857, when it ceased.

The "Western Cataract," a weekly paper devoted to temperance, was issued in January, 1845, by Lyman P. Judson, and has been successively in the hands of James Dubois, W. B. Williams, and Chauncey Hulburt. Mr. Hulburt changed its title to "Western Temperance Standard," under which it was continued for a short time.

The "Buffalo Medical Journal and Monthly Review of Medical and Surgical Science," was commenced on the first of June, 1845, by Dr. Austin Flint, editor and publisher, as an octavo of twenty-four pages. At the end of the first year, it was enlarged to sixty-four pages. In 1854, Dr. Sandford B. Hunt was associated with Dr. Flint in the editorship, and in 1855 became sole editor and proprietor. In 1858, Austin Flint, Jr., became its editor, and the Journal was, in 1859, removed to New York, where it was discontinued.

The "Buffalo Medical and Surgical Journal," about two years ago, took the place of the former periodical of that name, and is now edited by Dr. Julius F. Miner.

These extended notices of the past and perished city journals of the bye-gone years will close with the following allusion to those once published in the county villages:

The first paper published in our then rival village of Black Rock, was the "Black Rock Beacon," by Lewis G. Hoffman,

which came out some time in 1822. The late General Peter B. Porter was an able and liberal contributor to its columns, during the bitter and protracted controversy which at that period was carried on between the leading citizens of Buffalo on the one side, and the "Rock" on the other, in relation to the Harbor Question. The war bid fair to rival in duration the Punic campaigns of ages ago, until it was pretty satisfactorily demonstrated that Black Rock—with all the artificial aids of the extensive works erected by the State to furnish a capacious basin for the supply of the canal, and also to incidentally create a harbor that should attract all the commerce of the lakes to that point—could not successfully compete with the natural advantages of Buffalo. The "Beacon" at length "paled its ineffectual fires," and went out, in 1824. In the latter part of the same year, Bartemas Ferguson filled the vacancy with the "Black Rock Gazette," which he continued until August, 1825, when it was sold to Smith H. Salisbury, and published at Black Rock until the fall of 1827, when, the fortunes of that village continuing to decline, the establishment was removed to Buffalo, and published under the title of "Buffalo and Black Rock Gazette," until April, 1828, when the "Gazette" was discontinued, and the "Buffalo Republican" issued from the same office by Wm. P. M. Wood, as before mentioned.

No further attempts were made to furnish a paper to the Black Rockers, until the speculative era of 1836 opened their eyes to the prospective value of the lands under their feet, and vistas of future opulence swam before the eyes of the real estate holders who had been so long "looking up"—on their backs. Then, a paper was in demand, and D. P. Adams issued the "Black Rock Advocate," in February, 1836, edited by Dr. M. G. Lewis. But the feverish impulses of that precocious period soon subsided, and the reaction changed the prospects of the "Advocate," which was discontinued at the end of the first year. Black Rock has since looked to the Buffalo press for its news, and for the publication of its local items; and it

is not probable that another journal will be located there for some time yet.

The Village of Aurora—or rather the *two* villages, as they formed a disjunctive conjunction—had ambitious aspirings in 1835, that required the establishment of newspapers to aid the development of the advantages and resources of that fine town and adjacent country. Accordingly, in August of that year, the "Aurora Standard" was issued at East Aurora, by our fellow editor, Almon M. Clapp, and a well-conducted paper it was—one of the best of the country press. It was neutral the first year and then came out Whig. In the fall of 1838, the "Standard" was merged in the "Buffalo Patriot," as was likewise its editor and publisher. The "Aurora Democrat" was started about the same time with the "Standard" at the West Village of Aurora, by Deloss E. Sill. It was, as its name indicates, democratic in politics. At the expiration of a few months it was discontinued, and the materials moved to Ellicottville, Cataraugus County. Since then, Aurora, East or West, had no local organ, save the "Watchman," an unique little thing, the size of a sheet of letter paper, printed by Master O. C. Hoyt, who had learned a smattering of type setting, and got a small lot of old type together, out of which he made a paper, which was printed on a cheese-press. It soon shared the fate of many a cotemporary of larger dimensions and pretensions, and "was not."

A paper called the "Lodi Pioneer," in 1827, was issued at Lodi, by Lewis B. Edwards, by whom it was published for some two or three years, when it passed into the hands of George N. Starr, who changed its name to "Lodi Freeman," and removed his office to that part of the village, over the creek, in Cattaraugus County—where the paper was published until his death, in 1837, when it was suspended. In 1839 or 1840, the materials were purchased by Edwin Hough, who resumed the publication of the paper; and, in 1845, the office was removed by Mr. Hough to Springville, in this county, whence

the "Springville Express" was issued by him for some five or six years, when he removed his establishment from the county.

The foregoing sketch is, of course, but a dry and meager one; for, should we attempt to amplify it by details, it would exceed the limits to which these papers must be confined. There might many a piquant thing be said,—many an interesting reminiscence awakened, did we dare to let our pen wander into the past, in rambling mood, to touch upon the "matters and things in general" which legitimately belong to the subject, but which must be passed in silence. Among these, are early incidents of the rise and progress of Buffalo, from the little cluster of rude huts on the brow of the Terrace, to the wide-spread and populous city we see around us. There are, too, many events of great interest to us locally, connected with the lives and personal histories of the pioneers who planted themselves upon this spot, then so destitute, apparently, of the advantages of position, that have since been so splendidly developed. Many a doubtful hour of privation and discouragement was mingled in their lot, when the destiny of Buffalo was hidden by the cloudy curtain of the future. That destiny has since been revealed by each successive year, until its ultimate greatness is no longer a matter of uncertainty or chance. Let us, when surrounded by the proud monuments of industry, of enterprise, of wealth, that have builded us this beautiful Metropolis of the Lakes, remember often, and with gratitude, the pioneers of the Village of Buffalo.

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THE PORTRAIT OF
RED JACKET (SA-GO-YE-WAT-HA.)

WITH A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER.

PRESENTATION ADDRESS, JANUARY 30, 1868.*

BY O. G. STEELE.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

IT is with great pleasure that I appear before you this evening for the purpose of presenting to you a memorial of the now nearly extinct race, which, within the memory of many persons now living, were the sole possessors of the beautiful country we now occupy. Our early settlers were familiar with them in their every-day habits and pursuits, when, in that early frontier life, they were themselves scarcely better provided with household comforts. And in the contest, if it may be so termed, between savage and civilized life, in that early period, the victory was not always with the race which represented civilization. Many instances there were where the white man became the convert of the savage, and embraced

*The frontispiece of this volume is an excellent steel engraving by Danforth, of R. W. Weir's original portrait of Red Jacket, the presentation of a copy of which to the Buffalo Historical Society occasioned the address here printed. The presentation took place at St. James' Hall, at the date above given, as part of the exercises connected with the delivery of the Annual Address for 1868 by William H. Greene, Esq.

the habits of, and became incorporated with, the native red men. This occurred in quite as many instances as that of the red man adopting the civilization of the white race. This, however, could only be temporary. The white race were constantly pressing forward in the march of civilization, and surrounding themselves with those household comforts, and institutions of domestic and public life, before which the race of red men have so rapidly disappeared, as is their inevitable destiny. But that race which has so nearly passed away, were by no means ignorant nor unintellectual. There were many men among them of a high order of intellect, and endowed with moral attributes which would do honor to true Christian civilization. In the intercourse between the early white settlers and the Indians, the great law of justice between man and man was, at least, as frequently violated by the race claiming superiority, as by the savage, who recognized no responsibility but his own sense of justice and right. The Indian has, unfortunately, no historian of his own, but if the real history of the long physical and moral contest between the races could be revealed, it might not always be so exclusively creditable to the now dominant race, as would seem from the records made by white historians.

But this is neither the time nor the place to discuss questions now lost in the lapse of time. That great wrong and injustice were done to the native tribes will not be denied; and this may properly be attributed to the inferior class of white men who have, necessarily, been the first to meet the Indian in his native wilds. This was, however, quickly followed by a better class, who brought with them the institutions and surroundings of that civilization, which has, in less time than is commonly allotted to the life of man, raised our land from the wild uselessness of savage life, to the high and prosperous condition of the present time. When we contrast the scattered settlements of 1800, surrounded by Indians who could have annihilated them in a single night, with the present powerful,

prosperous and highly cultivated condition of all Western New York, we can say, with truth, that the triumph of the white race is the triumph of those great principles of human progress which are constantly pressing us forward to a higher and grander civilization. But, while we look with justifiable pride upon the rapid progress we have made, and rejoice in the sure prospect of the continued advance of physical improvement and social refinement, we should do justice to the race we have displaced, and whose rich heritage we now possess.

Many of the chiefs of the Seneca tribe were known to our early settlers, and ranked high in their estimation, as men of mark in intellectual and moral strength. Their virtues were their own; their vices principally the result of too free intercourse with the lower order of whites. We should, therefore, give them full credit for all the good qualities they possessed, and look with kindness and charity upon the weaknesses and vices which finally prostrated them before the superior intelligence and power of the white race.

Among the chiefs of the Seneca nation residing in this vicinity in the early days of our settlement, was the one known in history as Red Jacket, a name given him by the whites; his Indian name being *Sa-go-ye-wat-ha*, or, in English, "He keeps them awake;" a name which correctly expresses his peculiar character. He was not a war chief, but an orator. In his own proud language, he was "born an orator." There are many names in Indian history which stand higher in the warlike traditions of the race, but none approaches him in intellectual power, unbending integrity, or unselfish devotion to his people. He was an Indian of the Indians, possessing every noble quality peculiar to his race; as well as some of their weaknesses and vices. The controlling sentiment of his life appears to have been patriotism: love of his race and his tribe. His life was one incessant antagonism to the encroachments of the whites upon Indian territory, and to the propagation of their religious faith. Mistaken, as he certainly was, in

his views of the Christian religion, there was little in the conduct and personal character of borderers, land speculators and traders, to inspire him with confidence in a faith which had such representatives. His keen, sagacious mind could not discover in the daily life and conduct of these men any very conclusive evidence that the religious faith they professed made any better men than the simple faith of his own people. From his standpoint of observation, the whites he most frequently met were the inferiors of the people of his tribe, in all the qualities he deemed most honorable. That he held these opinions sincerely, there can be no possible doubt. He acted upon our own scriptural maxim: "By their fruits ye shall know them;" and it is not surprising that these opinions should strengthen as he advanced in life. He saw his nation fading away before the irresistible progress of the white race; and he could understand only that it was by the arbitrary exercise of force and power to deprive them of their lands and annihilate the whole people. The futility of all efforts to prevent this was long apparent to him, and the final destruction of his tribe inevitable. But he was faithful to the end. By no act or consent of his was any treaty made which abandoned any portion of their territory, or any rights and privileges of his people. When others of his tribe, with more prudence and less integrity, provided for themselves, in the negotiations for their lands, Red Jacket sternly refused to care for himself at the expense of justice to his tribe; and he died poor and almost friendless, but in every respect faithful to his nation and to the faith of his fathers. His last days were passed at his cabin on the Buffalo Reservation, a few miles east of this city. The accounts given of him at this time are truly touching and pathetic, and reveal the grand old man in an aspect which calls for our pity and heartfelt sympathy.

His death took place January 20, 1830, his age being given as seventy-eight.

I have thus briefly sketched what may be said to be the best

side of the character of Red Jacket. That he had the faults of every great man who is conscious of his own powers, and of his superiority to his contemporaries, there can be no doubt. He has been charged with selfish cunning in advancing his own interests, and with great personal ambition. But are these faults peculiar to Indians? Do we not see the same in our whole political history? Has not nearly every man who has made a name in our history been subjected to the same charges? Few men ever made their mark in history, without ambition and sufficient sagacity to avail themselves of every honorable means to attain the object sought for. I do not propose to attempt any vindication of the character of Red Jacket in that respect. But the great stain upon his character was his habitual indulgence in strong drink. To this appetite he became a slave at an early period, and it continued through all his life. From this cause his reputation was lost and his influence wasted away. For years previous to his death he indulged in drink upon every occasion; and among our citizens, his appearance in the streets, helplessly intoxicated, with crowds of idlers jeering him as he staggered along, excited the deepest commiseration in all who knew him in his better days. His power and influence were so utterly broken, that a council was held in 1827, by a party of his tribe, and he was deposed from his rank as chief. This aroused the waning energies of the old man, and he set to work to vindicate himself and revoke the decree. In the strong and effective language of his native tongue, he exclaimed: "It shall not be said of me that Sa-go-ye-wat-ha lived in insignificance and died in dishonor." A grand council of the Six Nations was called, at which the subject was fully canvassed. On this occasion he made his last public speech, infusing into it much of his ancient dignity and grandeur of manner. His triumph was complete. He was unanimously restored to his rank as chief of his tribe.

The charges against Red Jacket may be summed up as follows:

1. He was ambitious and selfish. True, quite likely, but are the great men of the white race exempt from the same charge? Does it not form the burden of attacks upon every public man?

2. He was denounced as a pagan in his religion. It is true he rigidly adhered to the faith of his fathers. If he was a pagan, so was Seneca, the great Roman moralist of the first century; so was Cicero; so was Aristides the Just, and so was Socrates, with occasional glimpses of a higher faith.

3. He was an habitual drunkard. True, alas! too true. But is that dreadful vice peculiar to the red man? Must we not admit that white men first brought the fire-water to him, encouraged him in its use, and supplied the cravings thus created? And who among us cannot call to mind innumerable instances of men of the highest character and cultivation, filling the first positions in every profession and every department of life, wrecking themselves, their reputation and their families by the indulgence of this frightful vice? Can we not all of us call to mind instances of this kind among our own circle of dear friends or relatives? Let us then throw the mantle of charity and forgetfulness over the frailties and vices, if you please, of Red Jacket, and cherish the memory of his greatness, his patriotism and his undying love for his unfortunate people.

Since the organization of this Society, efforts have been repeatedly made to obtain an authentic portrait of the great orator. There are no portraits of him in early life. A self-taught artist at Rochester painted a portrait of him in 1820, which was said to be a good one. He always opposed the idea, and would say, that when he died, all that appertained to him should die also. Still, several portraits were painted of him, but none until he had nearly reached his seventieth year. In 1828, when in New York, he was persuaded by Dr. Francis to sit for his portrait to R. W. Weir, then one of the most celebrated painters in that city. This is the finest portrait ever painted of him,

and is regarded as "the standard likeness of the last of the Seneca orators."

The circumstances connected with this portrait are related by Dr. Francis, and are to be found in Stone's Life of Red Jacket, page 433. It was in 1828, when, with his interpreter, Jemison, he repaired to the studio of Mr. Weir. "For this purpose he dressed himself in the costume which he deemed most appropriate to his character, decorated with his brilliant over-covering and belt, his tomahawk and Washington medal. For nearly two hours, on four or five successive days, he was as punctual to the arrangements of the artist as any individual could be. He had a party of several Senecas with him, who, adopting the horizontal position, in different parts of the room, regaled themselves with the fumes of tobacco. Red Jacket occasionally united in this relaxation, but was so deeply absorbed in attention to the work, as to think, perhaps, of no other subject. At times he manifested extreme pleasure, as the outlines of the picture were filled up. The drawing of his costume, which he seemed to prize as peculiarly appropriate, and the distant view of the Falls of Niagara, scenery at no great distance from his residence, forced him to an indistinct utterance of his satisfaction. When his medal appeared complete in the picture, he addressed his interpreter, his words aided by striking gestures; and when his noble front was finished, he sprang upon his feet with great alacrity, and, seizing the artist by the hand, exclaimed with great energy, 'Good! Good!'"

This portrait is the property of the estate of the late Samuel Ward, of New York. Several unsuccessful efforts have been made to obtain a copy for this Society. In May last, a gentleman, formerly residing in this city, placed in my hands $500, for the purpose of obtaining a copy. Negotiations were entered into with the present Mr. Ward for the privilege, which were successful, and Mr. Thomas Hicks, an eminent artist in New York, was selected to make the copy.

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This portrait is the property of the estate of the late Samuel Ward, of New York. Several unsuccessful efforts have been made to obtain a copy for this Society. In May last, a gentleman, formerly residing in this city, placed in my hands $300, for the purpose of obtaining a copy. Negotiations were entered into with the present Mr. Ward for the privilege, which were successful, and Mr. Thomas Hicks, an eminent artist in New York, was selected to make the copy.

And now, Mr. President and gentlemen, this copy is before you, appropriately framed; and, in the name of Mr. Isaac Sherman, of New York, I have the honor of presenting it to the Buffalo Historical Society.

NOTE.—The Society's record concerning the foregoing address and subsequent proceedings is as follows:

"4th. Presentation of the portrait of Red Jacket to the Society, by O. G. Steele, Esq., on behalf of the donor, Isaac Sherman, Esq., of New York City, accompanied by an interesting sketch of the life and character of the great Indian orator, and of the history of the original painting.

"At the conclusion of Mr. Steele's address, the Hon. Millard Fillmore arose and offered the following resolutions, prefacing them with some very pertinent and graceful remarks complimentary to Mr. Sherman and the spirit which impelled the gift:

"'Whereas, Isaac Sherman, Esq., of the City of New York, has, unsolicited, presented to this Society, in an appropriate frame, a beautiful and perfect copy of R. W. Weir's celebrated portrait of Red Jacket, painted in 1828, and copied by the artist, Thomas Hicks, in November, 1857: Now, therefore,

"'*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society are hereby presented to Mr. Sherman for his generous and highly prized donation, in which his disinterested liberality is no more conspicuous than his modesty, both of which have conferred upon this Society so valuable a gift; which will be preserved, not only, as a likeness of the great Indian orator who lived and died among us, but affectionately cherished as a memento of the donor.

"'*Resolved*, That the thanks of this Society are also due to John and Richard R. Ward, of New York City, for their kind courtesy in permitting the copy to be taken from the original portrait owned by them.'

"'*Resolved*, That the Corresponding Secretary of this Society be directed to transmit a copy of these resolutions to Messrs. Sherman and Ward.'"

ORIGIN OF
THE ERIE CANAL.

EMBRACING A SYNOPSIS OF THE ESSAYS OF THE HON. JESSE HAWLEY, PUBLISHED IN 1807.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 21, 1866.

BY MERWIN S. HAWLEY.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY:

AT the beginning of the present century, this region of country had not emerged from its primeval or semi-barbarous condition. Our favorite city, whose history we seek to collect and to preserve, was but a trading-post of the Indians with the few white adventurers who followed their trails to barter whisky, powder, etc., for the furs and skins of the animals of the forests. Not only the site on which our city now stands, and the surrounding country for many miles, but a large portion of what is now the garden and granary of the State of

NOTE.—This paper is the first of several which will be found in the present volume, upon the origin and execution of the Erie Canal, and its opening as a world's thoroughfare. It is peculiarly fitting that the Buffalo Historical Society should present, in its "Publications," the materials for a complete account of that great work. Its prominent place in the accomplishment of the wonderful "opening up" of this vast and productive country, deserves and demands this service from the Muse of History.—*Ed.*

New York, was a wilderness, unbroken, save by the Indian trail or the bridle-path leading from the towns and settlements, which had been formed as far up into the interior of the State as civilized enterprise had then penetrated.

And for more than the first decade of years in this century, almost the only towns of any note, west of the head-waters of the Mohawk River, were the two inland towns of Canandaigua and Batavia, established and fostered by the proprietors of large landed interests, whose offices were located there for the sale of their lands.

A great tract of country lying west of us, an empire in its extent, containing more fertile acres, and more mineral wealth, probably, than any other portion of the globe of similar extent, where many powerful states and opulent cities have since sprung into existence as if by the magician's wand, was also unsettled and unexplored; no facilities existed to attract the emigrant, or induce a development of its hidden resources and wealth.

The early interior settlements of this State were mainly confined to the valleys of the streams, and the borders of its small lakes; the principal traffic being that carried on from the towns bordering upon the tide-waters, with the five nations of Indians inhabiting the central and western portions of the State.

It was soon discovered that this valuable trade, like all commerce, would find its outlet by those water communications which led with the most facility and economy to a remunerative market. Those who engaged in this trade met with much competition from those French Canadian traders, who, having their headquarters at Quebec and Montreal, found easy water communication, by way of the St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario, to the mouth of the Oswego River, and thence into our best Indian trading regions—the borders of our small interior lakes.

At an early day, the necessity began to be felt of providing better facilities than were then enjoyed, for carrying on this valuable and increasing traffic through our own territory, to

our own markets, and of not permitting it to be drawn away to enrich foreign commerce and foreign towns, by the easier transportation down the Oswego River, Lake Ontario, and the St. Lawrence.

It is probably true, also, as indicated by an early writer on the subject, that enterprising agriculturists found, in their movements westward from the Hudson River, the quality of the soil improved for agricultural pursuits. The improvement was said to be of so decided a character, that a comparison at every fifty miles distance would clearly establish it, from the Hudson to the Genesee, or to the vicinity of Batavia.

Enterprising and scientific men were led to investigations as to the best method of providing such communications between the eastern markets and the interior, as would secure to our own people the full benefit of their industry, their traffic and commerce, and build up our own towns and seaports, instead of contributing to the prosperity of our foreign neighbors. These investigations, and the improvements to which they gave rise, stimulated further investigations and propositions, which resulted in measures that brought into existence our grand Erie Canal.

Other countries had constructed canals. The wealth of Egypt and of Holland is due in great measure to their numerous canals. The commerce and manufactures of France and of Great Britain are much dependent upon their artificial water connections. But all these were works of comparatively short extent, and constructed by old and wealthy countries. It was reserved for this new but enterprising country, the State of New York, to construct a canal of such extent and of such character as to cause an empire of wealth and power to spring up from a western wilderness; to transform this trading-post into our present large city of wealth and refinement; to add untold millions to the value of the property and secure the prosperity of her people, and to excite the emulation of her sister states.

It should be borne in mind, that at the time of which we are writing, the era of what is called the "fast age" had not dawned; the science of topography was but little understood, and the geography of the country but imperfectly known. Franklin had tapped the clouds and bottled the electricity, but that subtile element had not been made conducive to the conversation of parties with each other, when thousands of miles apart. The valuable power of steam was partially known, but its adaptation to propel boats even four miles per hour, was scarcely determined. No Pacific Railway was in anticipation to transport the enthusiastic traveler across the plains and over the Rocky Mountains, from the eastern to the western ocean. Even the "Telegraph line" of stages from Buffalo to Albany, in forty-eight hours, with six passengers, had not been projected: all communications between distant places were by the most primitive methods.

The success of the canal project awakened throughout the land a spirit of invention and improvement. Other states entered vigorously upon works of similar character, and our own people were soon constrained, by the rapid increase of travel and traffic, to commence that system of railroad communications which has grown to such immense proportions and become such a necessity.

But these railroads would not, probably, ever have been attempted,—no necessity for their existence, or profit from their use, would have been foreseen,—had not the people begun to realize the benefits predicted by the original projectors of our Erie Canal.

The names of those men who were mainly instrumental in the projection, the progress, and the completion of that work, deserve an abiding place in our historic records.

It has been well remarked by a judicious writer* on the subject, that it is "in vain to inquire who first *thought* of connect-

* Cadwallader D. Colden.

ing these western, northern and southern waters. Could we pursue the inquiry with success, it would be a futile labor. The discovery would not benefit the community, nor entitle the person to whom the original thought might be traced, to any more credit than if it were a dream, provided he did nothing towards procuring action to be taken upon the idea."

Another writer upon this subject,* after a full investigation, concludes that there may very properly be several classes of persons who predicted, projected, and carried forward the internal improvements of the State. In one class are those who *predicted* the union of the lakes, creeks, and rivers of the West, by removing obstructions and otherwise improving the natural channels of navigation, and ultimately reaching the ocean; and in this class he names Cadwallader Colden, Sir Henry Moore, General Washington, George Clinton, and Gouverneur Morris. In another class are those who, conceiving the practicability of forming a connection between the Hudson River and Lake Ontario or Lake Erie, or both, by artificial navigation or canals, and the immense benefits that would result therefrom, proposed the plan to the public, and urged its merits upon public attention; and in this class are placed Christopher Colles, Jeffrey Smith, Elkanah Watson, Philip Schuyler, Jesse Hawley, and Joshua Forman. In a third class, who were chiefly instrumental in procuring such action by the Legislature and the public as resulted in the success of the enterprise, are named Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt and DeWitt Clinton.

With a little attention to some historical facts recorded at the time of their occurrence, we need not be left in any doubt as to whom belongs the credit of the original and the first publication of the project of the overland route of the Erie Canal from Buffalo to the Hudson River.

In the year 1724, Cadwallader Colden, Surveyor-General of the Province of New York, afterward Lieutenant-Governor,

* Dr. Hosack.

made and presented to the Captain-General and Governor, William Burnett, an elaborate memorial concerning the fur trade of the Province, in which he discusses at some length the advantages the inhabitants of New York have in carrying on this trade, as against our French neighbors in Canada: first, by reason of the easier and cheaper importation of goods into the port of New York than into Montreal or Quebec; and, next, by the facility with which our people may reach the common central point of this trade, the Oswego River, by way of the Mohawk River, and the stream which runs into Oneida Lake, thence down with the current to Lake Ontario; and adds, "But besides this passage, there is a river which comes from the country of the Senecas, and falls into the Onondaga River, by which we have an easy carriage into that country, without going to Lake Ontario. The head of this river goes near to Lake Erie, and probably may give a very near passage into that lake, much more advantageous than the way by the great Fall of Niagara." Mr. Colden here refers, evidently, to the Seneca River; and though his imperfect acquaintance with the geography of the country is apparent, yet *there* was expressed the germ of the "*suggestions*" and "projections," which culminated in our canal, one hundred years afterward.

In 1768, Sir Henry Moore, Governor of the Province, in a message to the Colonial Legislature, called their attention to the great delays and expense attending the transport of goods at the carrying-places, and asked for legislative aid to remedy the evils, which, if not removed, "may divert this commerce into such channels as will deprive this colony of every advantage which could arise from it." And the Governor recommended to the Legislature "the improvement of our inland navigation, as a matter of the greatest importance to the Province,—and that the obstructions in the navigation of the Mohawk River, between Schenectady and Fort Stanwix, be remedied by sluices, on the plan of the canal of Languedoc."

The recommendations were referred to a committee of the

Legislature, but no efficient action upon them was taken.

General George Washington had large and comprehensive views of the improvements, by opening increased water communications, of which this country was susceptible; and after the close of the Revolutionary War, in July and August 1783, he made a tour through the central part of our State, as far west as Fort Schuyler (now Rome), where he crossed over to Wood Creek. He then traversed the country to the head waters of the Susquehanna, and examined Lake Otsego and the portage connecting it with the Mohawk at Canajoharie; and he expressed himself as "struck with the immense extent and importance of the vast inland navigation of the United States, and of the goodness of that Providence which has dealt favors to us with so liberal a hand." "Would to God," says he, "that we may have wisdom to improve them."

In 1784, he traveled to Pittsburg in Pennsylvania; and his views of the probable increase of the trade and commerce of the country, and the efforts that would be made to attract it down the Mississippi, and down the St. Lawrence, and of the importance of leading that commerce to our own seaboard, are those of a sagacious and comprehensive mind.

Christopher Colles, a native of Ireland, but residing in the City of New York, who had, before the Revolutionary War, proposed a plan for supplying that city with good water, was the first person who suggested to the government of the State, the canals and improvements on the Ontario route. In the year 1784, Mr. Colles presented a memorial to the Legislature, asking for aid and authority for removing the obstructions in the Mohawk River, etc. Some action was taken upon it, but not such as to enable Mr. Colles to proceed. He presented another memorial at the next session of the Legislature, setting forth the practicability of the measure, and the benefits to result from it; and that body appropriated one hundred and twenty-five dollars, to enable him to make a survey, and exhibit a plan thereof to the Legislature at its next meeting.

According to this action, Mr. Colles visited the country, surveyed the Mohawk and Wood Creek, and made a report thereon to the next Legislature, a committee of which reported favorably upon his plans; but nothing further grew out of the effort.

In March, 1786, Jeffrey Smith, a member of the Assembly from Long Island, asked and obtained leave to bring in a bill, entitled, "An Act for improving the navigation of the Mohawk River, Wood Creek and the Onondaga River, with a view of opening an inland navigation to Oswego, and for extending the same, if practicable, to Lake Erie."

Mr. Smith brought in the bill on the seventeenth of March; which was read once, and ordered to a second reading. It was discussed on the twenty-fifth and twenty-ninth of March, and on the fourth and fifth of April; but the session terminated without any final action on the project.

George Clinton, the first Governor of the State, in his Annual Message to the Legislature in January, 1791, took a comprehensive view of the importance of improving the Hudson and Mohawk rivers, and Wood Creek, and recommended the subject to their favorable attention; the result of which was to cause surveys and estimates to be made for the improvement between the Mohawk River and Wood Creek. A favorable report was made, and at the session of 1792, Governor Clinton again earnestly recommended the measure; and the legislative action at that session resulted in the passage of the "Act for establishing and opening lock navigation within the State," the declared intent of which was, to open "a lock navigation from the navigable part of Hudson River, to be extended to the Seneca Lake and to Lake Ontario."

General Philip Schuyler, whose services in the Revolutionary War gave him full knowledge of the country, with great sagacity gave his attention to the subject of internal improvements, and was instrumental in procuring the incorporation of the "Western Inland Lock Navigation Company," in 1792, of which he was the President. The object of this Company was

to improve and extend water communication by the Mohawk River, Wood Creek, and Oneida Lake and River, to Oswego. They subsequently took measures to extend their navigation into the interior as far west as Seneca Lake; and in a tour of explorations, by General Schuyler and their celebrated engineer, William Weston, an Englishman, in 1797 "they *talked* of water communications by means of canals, as far as Lake Erie, keeping the interior, *provided* the face of the country would admit of it; but they considered the period remote when it could be done, and their whole views were continued toward perfecting the navigation from the Hudson to the Seneca Lake, and to Oswego."

Elkanah Watson, a man of ingenious and speculative mind, who had derived favorable opinions of canals from his travels in England and on the continent of Europe, made an exploration as far west as Fort Stanwix, in 1788, and again in 1791, as far as Geneva; and by his earnest efforts, in connection with General Schuyler, was instrumental in procuring the incorporation of the Inland Lock Navigation Company, and in the efforts of that Company to extend its operations to Seneca Lake and Oswego. Mr. Watson's interest in these improvements, and his efforts in their behalf, were valuable and long continued, and his associates were men of the most prominence in that connection. Speaking of his own views and those of his fellow-laborers, Mr. Watson says, in 1820: "The utmost stretch of our views was to follow the track of Nature's canal. We never entertained the most distant conception of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson."

Connected with the improvements of the navigation to Oswego on Lake Ontario, was the passage by the Legislature, in 1798, of the Act incorporating the Niagara Company, for the purpose of making a canal, with locks, around the Niagara Falls, and thus complete the communication between the Hudson River, Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. This project, however, was not carried into execution.

Gouverneur Morris was a man of a brilliant, romantic mind, whose advantages had been improved by extensive travel in Europe, and by a residence, as Representative of his country, at the Court of France. He had a vivid imagination and an ardent temperament, and in his public and private intercourse frequently used new and bold expressions, which, at the time, were regarded as visionary and ambiguous; some of which have since been claimed by his friends as the "first suggestions" of the Erie Canal; although Cadwallader Colden suggested the idea in 1724, and General Schuyler, also, in 1797.

Governor Morgan Lewis, in a letter to Hermanus Bleecker, in 1828, relates that, being with General Schuyler at Fort Edward, during the Revolutionary War, Mr. Morris arrived at their headquarters on a mission connected with the general safety, and, remaining several days, often amused them by descanting with energy on what he termed "the rising glories of the western world;" and one evening declared, in language highly poetic, "that at no very distant day the waters of the western inland seas would, by the aid of man, break through their barriers and mingle with the Hudson." In answer to a question as to how those waters would break through their barriers, Mr. Morris replied, that "numerous streams passed them, through natural channels, and artificial ones might be conducted by the same routes." Whether Mr. Morris, by the term "inland seas," had in mind any other than the interior lakes of the State, does not appear.

In the summer of 1800, Mr. Morris made an excursion to Niagara Falls and Fort Erie, "by way," as he says, "of Albany, the lakes George and Champlain to Montreal, thence up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and along the south side of that lake to Niagara; thence by land to Lake Erie, and so back again." He adds: "Proceeding from the Falls toward Lake Erie, the contrast is complete—a quiet, gentle stream laves the shores of a country level and fertile. Along the banks of this stream we proceed to Fort Erie."

It appears that this visit was to the Canadian side of the Niagara River, and that Mr. Morris returned by the same route. His description of that excursion, in his letter written from Washington, in December, 1800, to his friend, John Parish, of Hamburgh, in Germany, is a splendid specimen of romantic writing, in which the main statements are more real than fictitious. Speaking of Fort Erie, he says: "Here, as in turning a point of wood, the lake broke in on my view, I saw, riding at anchor, nine vessels, the least of them of one hundred tons. Does it not seem like magic? At this point commences a navigation of more than a thousand miles. Hundreds of large ships will at no distant period bound on the billows of those inland seas. * * * * One-tenth of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign would enable ships to sail from London, through Hudson's River into Lake Erie. * * * * The proudest empire in Europe is but a bauble, compared to what America *will* be, *must* be, in the course of two centuries, perhaps of one."

Mr. Morris does not state by what route ships might be enabled to sail through Hudson's River into Lake Erie. Judging by the route of his travels, his intimate acquaintance with the navigation from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, the recent incorporation of the Niagara Company for the purpose of constructing a ship canal around Niagara Falls, and by the language he uses, it is fair to presume that the route, in his mind, was that by way of Lake Ontario.

The author of the pamphlet entitled, "Facts and Observations in relation to the origin and completion of the Erie Canal," claims for Mr. Morris the credit of giving origin to it, and says: "In the year 1800 he made a visit to the Falls of Niagara and Lake Erie, and first conceived the gigantic plan of bringing the waters of Lake Erie into the Hudson.

Simeon DeWitt, for a long time the Surveyor-General of the State, writing, in 1822, to William Darby, expresses himself as follows: "The merit of first starting the idea of a direct com-

munication by water between Lake Erie and the Hudson River, unquestionably belongs to Gouverneur Morris. The first suggestion I had of it was from him. It was in 1803; we put up for the night at the same inn in Schenectady. Among the topics of conversation was that of improving the means of intercourse with the interior of our State," and, "he then mentioned the project of tapping Lake Erie and leading its waters in an artificial river, directly across the country, to the Hudson." Mr. DeWitt adds that he considered the thing romantic, and as such, related it on several occasions, and says: "Mr. Geddes now reminds me that I mentioned it to him in 1804; and afterward, when in company with Jesse Hawley, it became a subject of conversation, which probably led to inquiries that induced Mr. Hawley to write the essays, which afterward appeared in the newspapers, on the subject."

James Geddes, writing in 1829, says: "I never had the idea cross my mind of a canal over the country to Lake Erie, till I received it from the Surveyor-General, in 1804, as communicated to him by Mr. Morris;" and says, "I have the most perfect recollection of time and place when I informed Mr. Jesse Hawley of the project, and have no doubt but that I informed him the idea came from Mr. Morris. It was at Geneva, the winter before he wrote his essays."

Charles C. Brodhead and Judge Benjamin Wright, surveyors and engineers of the time, and Thomas Eddy, the Treasurer of and an active Director in the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, were much engaged in the surveys and plans for internal improvements cotemporaneous with Gouverneur Morris; and may be supposed to have been informed of the views of prominent men of their day, upon a matter of such general importance, so far as such views were made public. Mr. Brodhead, writing in February, 1829, after alluding to a request made to him for information in respect to conversations between Mr. Morris and himself in regard to improvements, says: "I will give you a brief statement of what I consider to

be the facts in regard to Mr. Morris' views, as conveyed to me. In the year 1802 or 1803 I met Mr. Morris at Rome, and had a conversation with him on the subject of canals. He had just ascended the Mohawk in a boat, on a tour to the St. Lawrence by the way of Oswego; and he inquired very particularly of me as to the situation and soil of the land along the Oneida Lake, and the banks of the Oneida and Oswego rivers, and the country lying between the Oneida and Ontario lakes. I do not recollect that Lake Erie was mentioned in this conversation, and it is my opinion that it was not. After I had answered Mr. Morris' inquiries, he expressed much anxiety for a canal from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario.

Benjamin Wright says, writing in 1829: "Relative to the early views and suggestions of Gouverneur Morris in regard to the improvements by water communications, reported at the time the conversations or observations were made by him, about the year 1800, and soon after that period, they all tend to show that Mr. Morris looked only to canaling along the valleys of the natural water courses to Lake Ontario, and thence connecting Lake Ontario and Lake Erie by improvements around Niagara Falls, as contemplated by the Act of 1798." And Judge Wright adds: "I am confident Mr. Morris had no local knowledge of the formation of the country through the interior at that day; neither do I believe he gained any knowledge of the peculiar formation of that part of the State, until after the surveys made by direction of the State in 1808 and 1809. * * * * After Mr. Morris visited the country as Canal Commissioner in 1810, he took a different view of the whole subject."

In January, 1801, General Lee wrote to Mr. Morris, saying: "In our late conversation I could not but be impressed with your observations on the policy of opening a convenient access to the Atlantic from the lakes. Will you do me the favor to commit to paper your ideas in full?" To this Mr. Morris replied six days afterward; and, after acknowledging the receipt

of General Lee's letter, and some general remarks upon improvements, their political influences, etc., he says: "As far as I can judge from observation and information, the communication between Lake Ontario and the Hudson is not only practicable, but easy, though expensive."

Thomas Eddy says, in 1826: "It should be well observed that Mr. Morris only contemplates the practicability of a communication from Lake Ontario to the Hudson,—not a word of one continued canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson;"—and Mr. Eddy continues: "Mr. Morris' talents were brilliant, he had seen much of the world; with all his greatness of mind, he was at times visionary. He was not a practical man; he ultimately disagreed with the most of the Board of Commissioners first appointed, causing them to act without him."

"Tacitus," the author of the work entitled, "The Canal Policy of the State of New York," says: "At what time this channel of communication was first orally suggested, or by whom, it is impossible now to ascertain. The letters published to show that Gouverneur Morris entertained this project as far back as 1800 and 1801, prove directly the reverse. In his correspondence with General Lee, on being asked for a full development of his views, he is wholly silent as to the Erie communication."

Doctor Hosack, who has investigated this subject more fully than any other writer, remarks thus: "Entering upon the subject of the claims of the late Gouverneur Morris, to the honor of projecting the system of canal navigation which has been adopted by the State of New York, I freely confess that the first impressions upon my mind were the same with those of many who have ascribed to him the credit of having been the first to suggest the interior route, by a direct canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie, as the means of connecting the lakes with the ocean;"—and Doctor Hosack says, that a debt of gratitude which he owes to Mr. Morris, for many years of friendship and hospitality, impels him to do justice to his memory.

At the close of an elaborate investigation, Doctor Hosack

again remarks: "Such are the statements I have been enabled to obtain relative to the claims of Mr. Morris. I should have been gratified to have found less equivocal evidence of the originality of his suggestions of the course to Lake Erie by the interior route."

Jesse Hawley claims "the original and the first publication of a project for the overland route of the Erie Canal, from Buffalo to the Hudson," and that, "in it, he was a benefactor to the public in general, and to the State of New York in particular."

Mr. Hawley was born in the State of Connecticut, in 1773. He was of a studious, penetrating mind, having great regard to utility in all his investigations, political economy being a favorite subject with him.

His advantages for cultivation were such only as were afforded by the common schools at that period. Soon after 1800, his father's family removed to one of the eastern counties of this State, and Mr. Hawley, with a view of seeing what was then *the western country*, and of making a mark for himself, became engaged in business at Geneva, about the year 1804.

Mr. Hawley, writing in 1828, says: "In April, 1805, being in business at Geneva and concerned in forwarding flour from Mynderse's Mills, owing to the very imperfect navigation of the old Mohawk Canal, and various methods being proposed for improving it, I suggested the idea of an overland canal from the foot of Lake Erie at Buffalo, as containing a head and great reservoir of water to feed it, to Utica, and down the Mohawk to Hudson River. The impediments to navigation would often call forth expressions of a wish that an arm of the North River had been extended into the Genesee country, for our facilities of transport. No one had yet suggested the idea of effecting this object *by a canal!* I occasionally mentioned my suggestion to my friends, and was generally laughed at for my whim."

He continues: "Being fully satisfied of the practicability of such a canal, I thought it would be doing a service to society

to give it publicity, and I commenced writing on the subject; and my essays, fourteen in number, were afterward published in the Genesee *Messenger*, a newspaper then printed in Canandaigua. I never heard that Mr. Morris made any claim to the original idea of the *overland route*, and I believe Mr. Morris, if alive, would say for himself, that his idea was the lake route, and the locking up Niagara Falls into Lake Erie." Mr. Hawley adds, "I have said more than the subject strictly required, wishing to correct an error that some person has fallen into, contained in Mr. DeWitt's letter, in which Judge Geddes is made to say that his communication to me of Mr. Morris' idea of tapping Lake Erie, was the origin of the subject in my mind, and which induced me to write my essays. I saw Judge Geddes in 1804. I saw him again at Geneva in the winter of 1806, visiting his relatives, with whom I boarded. This was about ten months after I had suggested the idea of the overland canal. I saw him again at his home in Onondaga, in 1811, after he had surveyed a part of the route under the direction of the first Commissioners, when we conversed on the subject for the first time. I do not think any mention of the canal was made between us, when we met at Geneva; if there was, I must have first spoken of it. I did not hear that Mr. Morris had written on the canal, until several years after I had written, and the work was commenced. There was no writer on the idea of tapping Lake Erie, or the overland route for the canal, publicly known in Ontario, at the time I wrote my essays. The ridicule of the day, on the subject, sufficiently proves that; for had any been known, they would have been brought forward against my claims to originality of the measure. I had no better access to the private writings of other gentlemen than the public possessed. My writings were public, without obscurity, and I knew of no competitor with me for the reputation of both the conception and publication of the idea of the overland route, until after the work on the canal was commenced and became popular; then it was, the epistolary writ-

ings of Messrs. Watson, Morris, and others, were drawn from their private archives, and made to claim rank of their primitive dates. Mr. Clinton assigned to me the original idea of the canal; and in his letter to me of March 4, 1822, he says, 'The first suggestion I had of a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson River, was in the essays signed "Hercules," published in the Genesee *Messenger*, in fourteen numbers, commencing in October, 1807. The Board of Canal Commissioners, which made the first tour of observation and survey, in 1810, had those writings with them, which were duly appreciated as the work of a sagacious and elevated mind; and you were considered the author.'"

"Tacitus" writes: "The first hint on the subject of a direct overland canal, that I have seen, was suggested by Jesse Hawley, in the essays signed 'Hercules,' published in Canandaigua."

Doctor Hosack says: "The essays of Mr. Hawley, published in 1807, signed 'Hercules,' appear to have been the first publication of the plan of a direct overland communication from Lake Erie to the Hudson, and were found highly useful by the first Board of Commissioners—as they publicly acknowledged—when, in 1810, they were exploring the route which Mr. Hawley designated, and which has been adopted as the course of the canal. They cannot fail to illustrate the well established claims of the author to the originality of the views they develope. When it is considered that these essays of Mr. Hawley's point out the track of the canal nearly corresponding with its present route, urge the propriety of an immediate survey, and estimate the expense with wonderful accuracy, as has since been ascertained, it is surprising, amidst the numerous publications on this subject, that Mr. Watson and Mr. Colden are the only persons who have rendered that justice to Mr. Hawley which his merits and services claim from this State."

The writer of these pages well remembers, when a boy, hearing Mr. Hawley relate the incident of his *first* suggesting the idea of the overland canal. He was at Colonel Mynderse's

office in 1805, attending to the shipment of some flour to market, by the circuitous and uncertain route then in use. Himself and Colonel Mynderse conversing upon the necessities for better facilities, Mr. Hawley said, "Why not have a canal extend direct into our country, and benefit all—merchants, millers, and farmers?" To which Colonel Mynderse promptly replied, that it could not be done, for the lack of a head of water. As the head of water was so essential to the idea, Mr. Hawley felt somewhat chagrined at first, that he should have made such a blunder; but, stepping to an old map of the State, which hung on the office wall, he put his finger on the point where they were located, and tracing along on the map to Niagara Falls, and to Lake Erie, said, "*There* is the head, *there* is the supply of water."

The idea, thus brought out, being treated as visionary, Mr. Hawley was stimulated to examine it, and he became more convinced of its practicability the more he investigated it, although, as he became earnest upon the subject, his friends ridiculed the idea as visionary or chimerical; and, after publishing one or two of the essays, the printer objected to inserting any more, as the ridicule they received was liable to injure the character and circulation of his paper.

The printer was, however, prevailed upon to go on with them, and the fourteen essays were published, of which I proceed to give a brief synopsis.*

A change having occurred in Mr. Hawley's business, he spent the winter of 1806–7 in Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, and not knowing when he would return to Ontario County, he sketched the first essay, and to preserve it from oblivion, as he said, he procured it to be published there, on the fourteenth day of January, 1807, in the newspaper called the *Commonwealth*.

That essay opens with some approving allusion to the in-

* These remarkable essays are published at length in Doctor Hosack's Memoirs of DeWitt Clinton. The reader of them at the present day will perceive evidence of the originality of the views they promulgate, with the author of them.

genuity and patriotism of President Jefferson, who, in his second Inaugural Speech, March, 1805, promulgated the idea of appropriating the surplus revenues of the United States to the improvement of canals, roads, etc., and saying that it appears by the President's last message, December, 1806, that there is a greater surplus of revenue than was anticipated when the terms were made, for the payment of the national debt. He assumes that the President himself will agree that one of the first objects of utility is the improvement of the navigation of our fresh waters; and he continues, "I will presume to suggest to the President, with all due deference, *that* improvement which would afford the most immediate and extensive advantages of any which can be undertaken in the United States. It is, connecting the waters of Lake Erie and those of Mohawk and Hudson rivers by means of a canal;" and then says, "As this project is probably not more than twelve months old in human conception, but imperfect data can be furnished at present: such as I have I will add: The canal ought to commence at the foot of Lake Erie, as near as a suitable place can be found to afford a draft on its waters, and run nearly parallel to the Niagara River, for some miles; thence winding easterly and crossing the Tonawanta, perhaps a few miles from its mouth; thence nearly due east, preserving the height of the limestone ridge, and crossing the Genesee River, by an acqueduct, above its upper falls; thence running near to and probably into the west branch of Mud Creek, pursuing its channel into and down the Seneca River to the head of Jack's Rifts; thence leaving that river to the north, run along the foot of the hills and high grounds of Onondaga and Oneida counties, going south of their lakes, unite with the Mohawk, near Utica. * * * * The distance from Buffalo Village to Utica, by the present roads, is two hundred and two miles; it is possible that the angles of the roads are equal to the necessary meandering of the canal through so level a country." He then goes into a lengthy and ingenious investigation of the difference of elevation between

the waters of Lake Erie and those of the Mohawk River at Utica; and arrives at the conclusion that the fall is four hundred and ten feet, averaging about two feet to the mile. He says, "This crude calculation is intended merely to show the practicability of the undertaking. * * * * When completed, this canal would open one thousand six hundred and sixty miles of inland navigation, from New York to Chicago River, which might be continued, by portage, into and down the Illinois, and up the Mississippi into almost unknown regions. * * * * The trade and commerce from four of the largest lakes known in the world, with all their tributary streams, and surrounding country, would pass through this canal; and the fifth lake (Ontario) would become its tributary; and the additional duty on the trade from Canada, would alone defray the annual repairs of the canal."

Returning to Ontario County in the summer of 1807, Mr. Hawley wrote more fully upon this and kindred subjects, his writings extending to fourteen numbers, with the same signature, "Hercules," as the first; and were published in the Genesee *Messenger*, a newspaper printed at Canandaigua.

They commenced in October, 1807, and were completed in April, 1808, some of the intermediate time being consumed in efforts to convince the proprietor of the newspaper that the printing of the essays would not damage its character and circulation.

In the opening essay, Mr. Hawley adverts to the vast extent of our territory, its variety of soil and climate, the richness of its animal and mineral kingdoms, and its facilities for intercommunication; and also to our inestimable improvement in the science of government; having refined that down, as he says, to its elementary principles, contrasting our country, its fertility and natural resources, and our people, with the most learned people and the wealthiest countries of Europe, he gives a glowing picture of the prosperity and greatness which are in store for us, if we but improve the facilities placed before us by the Creator.

In the next number he points out the route, distance and levels, a little more in detail, but substantially the same as set forth in the preliminary essay, published at Pittsburg, which has already been given, and of course need not be repeated here. Mr. Hawley considers that the navigation of the Mohawk River by perfecting the improvements then in use, or a canal immediately contiguous thereto, throughout its valley, must be adopted; and therefore does not point out in detail that portion of the line, thinking either method is entirely feasible, and having in view an economy of expenditure, until the revenues of the canal should provide a fund for further improvements.

In numbers three and four, he goes into a long and ingenious calculation of the success with which various European canals have fulfilled the designs of their projectors, based upon their width, depth, etc., such as the canal of Languedoc, the canal of Clyde, of Kiel, etc., and comes to the conclusion, and recommends, one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep, as the best size to construct the Erie Canal, and also says: "How far steamboats can be adapted to the canal, so as to supersede theuse of the towing-path, time and experiment have yet to determine."

In the fifth number, Mr. Hawley makes a minute calculation of the cost of the various European canals named, and assuming the Erie Canal, from Lake Erie to Utica, to require twenty-six locks, and estimating the difference in value of labor, of material, and of American ingenuity, with some allowance for our lack of experience, he comes to the conclusion that the canal which he has pointed out, from Lake Erie to the Mohawk, near Utica, one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep, "would cost something more than $5,000,000,—to put it in round numbers, say $6,000,000."

He next devotes two or three numbers to showing the commercial utility and general benefits to the country of such a canal; how it would enhance the value of many millions of acres of land in this State; how it would stimulate emigration,

and the settlement and cultivation of the new lands in the western country; how the trade of almost all North America would center at New York for its common mart; how the harbor of Buffalo would exchange her forest trees for a thicket of masts; and in his estimates of the benefits to particular interests, makes out the enhanced profits on the single article of potash, in the belt of country fifty miles wide along the American shores of our lakes, from the foot of Lake Erie to the head of Lake Michigan, to be $20,800,000; and he remarks, "Such is the interest the people will have in the canal, they cannot long slumber over the project. No situation on the globe offers such extensive and numerous advantages to inland navigation by a canal as this."

Mr. Hawley next devotes two numbers to discussing the question of the resources of capital for the performance of such a work, and he goes so fully into all the phases of the questions of ability, of expediency, and of political economy, as connected with the subject, that it is difficult to do him justice in any synopsis of his views. He concludes that the means required are beyond the reach of individual capital; the calling of foreign capitalists to our aid is, in his opinion, highly exceptionable, as it would render the commerce of the canal subject to foreign dictation; and he opposes the liberal toleration by our government to foreign capital being invested in our lands, stocks, etc., unless our government holds in reserve the idea of the sequestration of foreign property in our country, as the *dernier résort* for the redress of foreign spoliations on our commerce; and he thinks we can with confidence turn our attention to our patriotic government with a productive revenue, as the source of capital competent to the completion of this work of improvement.

Having placed his reliance for financial resources upon the United States government, Mr. Hawley devotes the remaining numbers to pointing out many other improvements, in various other States, some of which have since been accomplished,—

most of which would be tributary to the prosperity of our own State, and greatly promote the interests of the localities where made, and of the nation at large. He expresses full reliance upon American genius and enterprise to surmount many of the difficulties in the way of the proposed undertakings, and concludes that New York is destined to be the brightest star in the American galaxy. Time will permit the mention of but few of the improvements he thus points out.

The Champlain canal is recommended as a valuable improvement, by canaling from Waterford to Fort Edward, and thence to Skeensborough or the head of South Bay; the distance being about forty miles.

"Turning our attention to the westward," he says, "an immense field opens to our view. The straits of St. Marie might be improved by sinking its rapids, or by locking, so as to complete navigation into Lake Superior. The connection of the Fox and the Wisconsin rivers by a canal a few miles long, at the portage between the rivers, would open communication between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi River, one thousand one hundred and fifty miles from its mouth. Another important connection of Lake Michigan with the Mississippi River can be made, by a canal from ten to twenty miles long, between the Chicago River and a branch of the Illinois River. The evenness of the land gives a certainty to its feasibility, and the canal should be of equal dimensions with the Erie Canal.

"To render the navigation from Buffalo to the Mississipi, by the Illinois River, of the greatest value, another improvement will become essential—a canal between Lake Erie and Lake Michigan, at their heads. The course of the interior streams, running westwardly, may seem to preclude this idea, but as Lake Michigan discharges its waters through Huron into Lake Erie, the project seems feasible.

"Valuable improvements by canals could be made in Ohio, by opening a way from Lake Erie to the Ohio River, and between the Miami of the lakes (the Maumee) and the Wabash.

"To have a water passage opened between the Hudson and the Delaware rivers, through the State of New Jersey, would be a desideratum to the United States, as continuing the chain of inland navigation, coastwise, from South Carolina to Long Island Sound; which would be of essential service to commerce in time of war."

In number twelve, Mr. Hawley points out some valuable improvements that may be easily made, connecting the waters of the Susquehanna, the Potomac, and the Patapsco rivers, with the Chesapeake Bay; showing at length what improvements Maryland and Virginia can make, to secure control of a large portion of the trade of the West; and arguing that New York must be active and vigilant in constructing the overland canal, if she would secure the growing western trade.

He then points out various other improvements; among them the Dismal Swamp Canal, the canal around the rapids in the Ohio River, near Louisville, which, he says, "ought to be twenty feet deep; and a direct continuous navigation between Mobile and the Ohio River, by way of the Tombigbee River, Bear Creek and the Tennessee River, requiring but fifty miles of canal;" and he founds an argument in favor of our national government purchasing the Floridas, on the importance of possessing jurisdiction over the mouths of some of the rivers that flow into the Gulf of Mexico.

Mr Hawley thus puts himself on record unequivocally, at an early day, in regard to our Grand Canal, and the benefits that would result from it. How fully and rapidly those predictions have been verified, we will not now stop to discuss. We may imagine, however, that if two of his projections, yet unaccomplished, had been carried out,—that of a communication from the head of Lake Erie to the head of Lake Michigan, and the large size of one hundred feet by ten of the Erie Canal,—we should not now have interested parties in other localities besieging our halls of legislation for aid to construct a Niagara Ship Canal.

In 1809, General Micah Brooks, a member of Assembly from Ontario County, borrowed the essays of Mr. Hawley, and took them to Albany; but nothing was done in reference to the canal by the Legislature of that session, and he left them with Mr. DeWitt, the Surveyor-General, to investigate the subject.

An incident in the life of Mr. Hawley, though not directly connected with the canal, has a local interest, and exemplifies some of his characteristics. When, in the year 1821, the County of Niagara was divided, the new one, though retaining the old name, required to have its county-seat determined, and the Legislature appointed as Commissioners for that purpose, Erastus Root, of Delaware County, Jesse Hawley, of Monroe, and William Brittin, of Cayuga. Mr. Brittin died before the Commissioners had performed the duties assigned to them. The other two made their examinations throughout the county, and disagreed in their conclusions, General Root being in favor of Lewiston, and Mr. Hawley, of Lockport.

In 1822, Messrs. Root and Hawley having resigned, the Legislature appointed as Commissioners for the same purpose, Abraham Keyser, Jr., of Schoharie, Junius H. Hatch, of New York (now of Black Rock), and James McKown, of Albany. These Commissioners made their examinations, and, coinciding unanimously with Mr. Hawley, fixed the county-seat at Lockport.

Joshua Forman was a member of the Assembly from Onondaga County, in 1808. His room-mates were Judge Wright and General McNiel, of Oneida County. Canals and other methods of internal improvements were prominent topics of conversation between them. Judge Forman introduced a resolution, which Judge Wright seconded, "That a joint committee be appointed to consider the propriety of exploring and surveying the most eligible and direct route for a canal between Hudson River and Lake Erie, to the end that Congress may be enabled to appropriate such sum as may be necessary to the accomplishment of the object." In Judge Forman's

argument in support of his motion, he pointed out substantially the same route for the canal, in the western part of the State, as had been previously designated in the "Hercules" papers of Mr. Hawley. The resolution passed, and the joint committee reported a resolution, which was adopted, "directing the Surveyor-General to cause a survey to be made of the rivers, streams, and waters in the usual route between the Hudson River and Lake Erie, and such other route as he may deem proper," and appropriating six hundred dollars for the purpose; and, as Judge Forman says, "So intent was the Surveyor-General on going through Lake Ontario, that he expended most of the money in exploring routes in that direction."

Judge Geddes was employed to make the surveys, which he did, according to his instructions, on the Ontario route, and the Niagara River, and then took levelings "from Genesee River to the head waters of Mud Creek;" and he became confident of the practicability of the canal, and made a full report of his doings and his conclusions to the Surveyor-General, who laid it before the Legislature at their session in 1809.

The Surveyor-General also opened a correspondence with Joseph Ellicott, of Batavia, agent of the Holland Land Company, from whom he obtained valuable information, descriptive of the country between the Niagara and Genesee rivers, with an explanatory map.*

Nothing further was done, until the winter of 1810, when Thomas Eddy, Jonas Platt, and DeWitt Clinton (the two latter being members of the Senate) were instrumental in procuring the appointment, by a joint resolution of both Houses, of seven Commissioners, viz., Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, DeWitt Clinton, Simeon DeWitt, William North, Thomas Eddy, and Peter B. Porter, to explore the whole route from the Hudson to Lake Ontario and to Lake Erie, and to report their action, with their own conclusions, to the next

* Mr. Ellicott's communication was dated July 30, 1808.

Legislature; and three thousand dollars were appropriated to defray the expense.

These Commissioners entered upon their duties on the first of July, 1810, the Surveyor-General having employed Mr. Geddes to attend them as engineer, and the Commissioners having with them the essays of Mr. Hawley, published in 1807 and 1808, the report of Mr. Geddes' surveys in 1808, and the communication and map received from Joseph Ellicott.

The Commissioners fulfilled their mission with skill and assiduity, and in their report to the next Legislature, they recommend the overland route to Lake Erie, as being practicable and beneficial, and that measures be taken for its accomplishment.

Early in the winter of 1810, Mr. Pope, a Senator in Congress, from Kentucky, introduced into that body a bill for improving our nation by facilitating intercourse between its parts; which bill contemplated many of the improvements which Mr. Hawley had previously pointed out, and in substantially the same manner, except that he proposed the Ontario and Niagara route between the Hudson and Lake Erie.

Mr. Pope's bill not having been acted upon in the Senate, General Peter B. Porter, a member of the House of Representatives from this State, introduced into the House, on the eighth of February, 1810, a preliminary resolution, which led to the reporting of a bill, on the twenty-third, by a committee of twenty, of which General Porter was chairman, "For the improvement of the United States by roads and canals," which provided, among other improvements, for "opening canals from the Hudson to Lake Ontario, and around the Falls of Niagara;" an appropriation of public lands to be the financial basis.

General Porter advocated the measure in an elaborate speech, which, for style and ability, has rarely been surpassed in Congress. His efforts, however, proved unsuccessful.

These incipient movements in 1810, toward our Erie Canal, with other influences, probably, turned the attention of enter-

prising men to this locality; for we gather from Ketchum's History, that the settlement of the infant Village of Buffalo received a great impetus in that year.

In April, 1811, Mr. Clinton introduced a bill in the Senate, which was passed, empowering the Commissioners to solicit the aid of the general government in performing the great work contemplated; and the Board deputed DeWitt Clinton and Gouverneur Morris to perform that duty. They entered earnestly upon the business, devoting much time and their great abilities to induce President Madison and Congress to take the matter into consideration, but without any success. In March, 1812, the Commissioners made their report to the Legislature, and urged that "*now* sound policy demanded that the canal should be made by the State of New York alone, and for her own account."

In June of that year, 1812, a law was passed authorizing the Commissioners to borrow $5,000,000, in Europe, for prosecuting the work—but the war with England interrupted further progress.

In 1814, the friends of internal navigation differed in opinion as to the course the canal ought to take, some thinking the Ontario route should be preferred, rather than the direct one to Lake Erie. Influenced by these conflicting views, the Legislature of that year repealed the law authorizing the Commissioners to borrow $5,000,000.

In the difference of opinion as to the route of the canal, manifested in 1814, and in the desire, in 1808, first to survey the Ontario route, of which Judge Forman complained, is foreshadowed that spirit of rivalry to a portion of the main trunk, on the part of some localities, which has continued to the present time.

The suspension of action caused by the war discouraged some of the friends of the canal, and, with many, all hopes of further proceedings were well-nigh abandoned; but in the autumn of 1815, the war being over, the same persons who in

1810 procured the appointment of the first Commissioners, viz., Messrs. Eddy, Platt and Clinton, again set the ball in motion by procuring a public meeting to be held in the City of New York, to urge the propriety and policy, in a memorial to the Legislature, of proceeding with the work of the canal from the Hudson to Lake Erie. A large number of influential citizens, as the result of that meeting, joined in a memorial to the Legislature in favor of the work. That memorial, a most masterly production, and exhausting the arguments upon the subject, was the production of DeWitt Clinton, and had great influence throughout the State, and with the Legislature. The friends of the canal rallied under the standard of that memorial, in public meetings in almost every town from Albany to Buffalo, and a vigorous impulse was given to the public mind in favor of the enterprise.

The project was brought forward in the Legislature, which commenced its session on the second of February, 1816. Governor Tompkins, in his opening speech, thus adverted to the subject: "It will rest with the Legislature, whether the project of connecting the waters of the Hudson with those of the Western Lakes is not sufficiently important to demand the appropriation of some part of the revenues of the State to its accomplishment, without imposing too great a burden upon our constituents. We may rely on the co-operation of the States of the west in any judicious plan in that direction." This portion of the Governor's speech was referred to a joint committee of both Houses. On the twenty-first of February, the memorial of Mr. Colden, Mr. Clinton, and others of the City of New York, in favor of the work, was presented, and referred to the joint committee; and on the first of March a memorial to the same effect, from the Mayor, Aldermen and Commonalty of the City of New York, was presented; and numerous others came pouring in from most of the principal towns and villages in the interior.

There was strong opposition to the project, from the river

counties and many other quarters, which was strengthened by the fear of competition in the eastern markets with their own produce, from the fertile lands at the west, not anticipating the rapid growth and increasing wants, of both city and country, which the canal would call forth. On the eighth of March the Commissioners made their annual report. The war had interfered with their progress, and they now recommend immediate action; and, as an additional reason, they show "the necessity of preventing the trade of the West from passing down the St. Lawrence." The report was signed by all the Commissioners except Gouverneur Morris.

On the twenty-first of March, the joint committee presented an able report in favor of the immediate commencement of the canal, and introduced a bill for that purpose. It encountered strong opposition, and had many discussions and alterations. An amendment providing for a local tax on the lands, twenty-five miles in breadth, along the middle section, softened the opposition of many. The bill passed the Assembly on the twelfth of April, after being so amended as to direct the work to be commenced, but confined to the middle section, limiting the expenditures to $250,000 per annum, and the whole not to exceed $2,000,000. The bill named thirteen persons as Commissioners, among whom were DeWitt Clinton, Stephen Van Rensselaer, Joseph Ellicott, and Samuel Young.

The Senate took up the bill on the sixteenth of April, where it also encountered opposition and much discussion. On motion of Mr. Van Buren, it was amended, by striking out that part which authorized commencing the work, and by directing more full and accurate surveys and estimates. Mr. Van Buren thought the Legislature had not sufficient information to justify the law authorizing the beginning of such a work, and feared the measure might be prejudiced by too hasty action. After an unsuccessful motion to reject the whole bill, by Major Cochran, and after reducing the number of Commissioners to five, the bill passed the Senate.

The names of the Commissioners retained, were Messrs. Clinton, Van Rensselaer, Ellicott, Young, and Myron Holley. The Assembly at first refused to concur in the amendments, and several conferences took place between the two Houses. Finally, by great efforts on the part of some of the friends of the measure, who feared the whole project might be lost, the House concurred, and the bill was passed on the last day of the session, in the form in which it came from the Senate.

The duties of the Commissioners under this act of 1816, were to examine the country, cause surveys to be made, levels taken, and maps, etc., to be made, and to recommend plans for the construction of the canal; also to estimate the whole expense of the work, and ascertain if loans could be procured, and to what amount, and on what terms.

The Commissioners met and organized in New York, in May following, DeWitt Clinton being chosen as President of the Board, Samuel Young, Secretary, and Myron Holley, Treasurer. They occupied the season in a diligent and laborious discharge of the duties assigned to them.

An extra session of the Legislature was held in November 1816, for appointing presidential electors, at which Governor Tompkins in his speech directed their attention to the subject of the canal, in the following "negative"* paragraph: "It is respectfully submitted to your wisdom to make provision at the present session, for employing a part, at least, of the State prisoners, either in building a new prison at Auburn, erecting fortifications, opening roads, *constructing canals*, or in making other improvements." Governor Tompkins had never been suspected of any very strong friendship for the canal project, says William L. Stone, and this chilling paragraph was at once construed into a settled hostility, which subsequent events proved too true.

At the opening of the regular session of the Legislature, which

* William L. Stone.

commenced in January, 1817, no communication was made by the Governor; and no action was had in reference to the canal till the seventeenth of February, when the Commissioners presented their report, which was full and elaborate, and they recommended that the work be entered upon without delay. The report was referred to a joint committee of the two Houses. Some delay arose in preparing a financial plan, from the desire to know the fate of a measure, then before Congress, for apportioning among the States the dividends on the stock owned by the United States, in the United States Bank, the proportion of the State of New York being about $90,000 per annum. The measure was passed by Congress, but vetoed by Preseident Madison, as one of his last official acts. Some disappointment was felt at this result, but it seemed to awaken a spirit of determination that the work should be done by the State of New York, on her own account.

On the nineteenth of March, the joint committee presented their report, and recommended the immediate construction of the canal from the Mohawk to the Seneca River. Colonel J. Rutsen Van Rensselaer, being disappointed in the report, thinking it came short of meeting the case, and feeling certain of the practicability of the whole route, and the vast benefits to result from it, sent in a proposition for undertaking the construction of the whole Erie Canal himself.*

The subject was first taken up, this year, in the Assembly on the first of April, in the Committee of the Whole, on the bill as introduced by Mr. Ford, chairman of the joint committee. It encountered able and protracted debate, and underwent some alterations. The discussion was continued the next day, when the whole measure was subjected to a severe ordeal at the hands of William A. Duer, of Duchess County, who, however, proved to be a true friend to the project. The

* Colonel Van Rensselaer's patriotic proposition included terms, in reference to remuneration, which it was deemed impolitic to adopt.

discussion was resumed on the seventh, when William B. Rochester, of Monroe, gave strong support to the measure, upon its broad merits.

It was further discussed on the eighth and ninth, and one of the most beautiful and convincing speeches in its favor, was made by Elisha Williams, of Columbia. After further amendments, and after a motion by Mr. Sergeant to reject the whole bill had been negatived, the bill passed the Assembly on the eleventh of April. The bill was discussed in the Senate on the twelfth, and again on the fourteenth, meeting with strong opposition. Among its ablest supporters in the Senate, were Mr. Tibbitts, of Rensselaer, and Mr. Van Buren. The latter made one of the strongest arguments of the session, in its favor, and introduced an important amendment, which was adopted, authorizing the Commissioners to borrow money on the credit of the State, instead of only pledging the canal fund. The bill had its final passage through both Houses on the fourteenth of April, and was sent to the Council of Revision, where it became a law, on the fifteenth.

The ordeal this bill met with in the Council of Revision, came near being fatal to it; it could not have received a two-thirds vote after a veto. The Council was composed of Lieutenant-Governor John Tayler, acting Governor, as President of the Council, Chief-Justice Thompson, Chancellor Kent, and Judges Yates and Platt. Acting Governor Tayler was openly opposed to the whole scheme. The Chief-Justice was also opposed to this bill. Chancellor Kent was in favor of the canal, but feared it was too early for the State to undertake this gigantic work. Judges Yates and Platt were in favor of the bill; but it was likely to be lost by the casting vote of the acting Governor.

Vice-President Tompkins (recently the Governor) entered the room at this stage of the proceedings, and, in an informal way, joined in conversation upon the subject before the Council, and in opposition to this bill. He said, "The late peace with

Great Britain was a mere truce, and we would undoubtedly soon have a renewed war with that country; and instead of wasting the credit and resources of the State in this chimerical project, we ought to employ all our revenue and credit in preparing for war. 'Do you think so, sir?' said Chancellor Kent. 'Yes, sir,' replied the Vice-President; 'England will never forgive us for our victories, and, my word for it, we shall have another war with her within two years.' The Chancellor, then rising from his seat, with great animation declared, 'If we must have war, * * * * I am in favor of the canal, and I vote for the bill.'"* With that vote the bill became a law.

The first meeting of the Commissioners to receive proposals and make contracts, under this law, was held at Utica, June 3, 1817. Commissioners Young and Holley had charge of the work on the middle section, which it was deemed advisable to construct first.

It was arranged with the authorities of the Village of Rome, to unite with the celebration of the fourth of July of that year, the ceremonies of commencing the work on the canal. At the appointed time and place, Judge Hathaway, President of the village, made a short address, adapted to the occasion, and then delivered the spade into the hands of the Commissioners.

After a short but graphic speech by Commissioner Young, he handed the spade to Judge Richardson, the first contractor, who then thrust it into the ground and made the first excavation for the construction of the canal. The example was immediately followed by his own laborers, and by the assembled citizens, all ambitious of the honor of participating in the labors of that memorable occasion. Thus, amid the roar of artillery, and the acclamations of the people, was begun that great work which has spread civilization, wealth and refinement over a vast country, and conferred imperishable renown upon the State which accomplished an undertaking of such magnitude.

* Jonas Platt.

* Jesse Platt.

DeWitt Clinton, who had successfully devoted his great abilities to the advancement of the canal project, and who was almost unanimously elected Governor of the State in 1817, and held that office, by successive re-elections, till his death in 1828, (with the exception of two years), used the following language in his first message to the Legislature, in January, 1818: "I congratulate you upon the auspicious commencement and successful progress of the contemplated water communication between the great western lakes and the Atlantic ocean. Nearly sixty miles have been contracted for, to be finished within the present year."

And in his message of 1826, he said: "In 1818, I had the pleasure to congratulate the Legislature on the auspicious commencement and successful progress of the contemplated water communication between the western lakes and the Atlantic ocean, and I now have the peculiar gratification to felicitate you on its completion."

The completion of the middle section, extending from Utica to Montezuma, was celebrated on the fourth of July, 1820, three years from the time of its commencement.

The completion of the eastern section was celebrated at Albany on the eighth of October, 1823, with imposing ceremonies.

The whole work was finished on the twenty-sixth of October, 1825; and at the precise time of its completion, the message was dispatched over the line of *artillery telegraph*, which announced the welcome news, from Erie to Ocean.

The event was celebrated along the entire line, with great enthusiasm and appropriate ceremonies.

It was the full dawn of an important era. The great work, having triumphed over all sectional and partisan opposition, all financial embarrassments, all natural barriers and obstacles, was at length completed; thenceforth to transmit its benefits to the latest generations, and brighten the pages of the history of the Empire State.

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THE ERIE CANAL.

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE MEASURES THAT LED TO ITS CONSTRUCTION.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JANUARY 28, 1867.

BY GEORGE GEDDES.

On the fourth day of July, 1817, with much ceremony, the construction of the Erie Canal was commenced at Rome, on that summit that divides the waters that find their way, on the one side by the St. Lawrence, and on the other by the Hudson, to the ocean.

On the twenty-sixth day of October, 1825, the completion of the canal was celebrated. In the short period of eight years and about four months the mighty work of connecting the great lakes with the ocean by a safe and convenient navigation had been accomplished. The high officers of the State, accompanied by many of the leading friends of the canal, embarked on its waters for the ocean, amid the roars of artillery that carried the glad tidings from gun to gun, from the shores of the lake to the walls of Fort La Fayette, in New York harbor. Such a salute of artillery, formed in a battery five hundred miles long, the world had never heard before—and never before had there been such an occasion. It was to celebrate one of those victories of peace that all men saw must determine and make certain the future glories of this new nation.

On the decks of the flotilla that then took its departure from Lake Erie, stood men who had first taught the public and educated it up to the courage that had dared the enterprise;—men who had suffered obloquy and contempt as the wildest of visionaries;—men who had been reviled and had all manner of evil spoken of them for having led the State to undertake a project so vast that it was said of it that the utmost energies of the mightiest empire would only be sufficient for its accomplishment.

Prominent among these men was DeWitt Clinton—who more than any other man had staked everything on the success of the canal—who had suffered more in abuse—who had devoted more unpaid time—who had spent more of his own money than any other man—now Governor of the leading State of this mighty nation, surrounded by a people who were proud to do him honor, who appreciated the victory that his statesmanship had at last won over all gainsayers, and felt that henceforth his fame was secure.

We who have seen this canal in operation for nearly all our lives, can hardly appreciate the difficulties that surrounded its early history. The population of the whole State did not at the commencement of the construction of the canal equal that of the City of New York at this day. The wealth of the people was in still smaller proportion to that which now undertakes great works. Engineering as a profession had no existence in the country. Canals the people had never seen. The agricultural interests of the eastern part of the State, where was the greatest population and the seat of political power, greatly feared the competition that the grain-growing capacity of the then far-famed Genesee country would give them in the cities—and strange as it now appears, the seaport that the canal was soon to make the commercial center of the world, was most obstinate in its opposition. Political parties took ground in regard to the canal policy of the State, and arrayed the blind ignorance that parties wield against it. Many men that the

world called good and wise refused to aid, and in many cases violently opposed it. The great sage of Monticello, when asked to give it his assistance, said that it was a hundred years too soon to undertake such an enterprise. The nation, that owned a vast domain, then wild and unsettled, that the canal was to make into powerful States, most positively refused to give the least part of its surplus wealth or of its unsaleable lands, to aid in the work. Single-handed, the State undertook the enterprise, and through evil and good report, depending on our own citizens for Commissioners, Engineers and Contractors, in an inconceivably short time the work was accomplished, and on the flotilla that started from Buffalo on the twenty-sixth day of October, 1825, to mingle the waters of Lake Erie with those of the Atlantic, were borne the men who had so successfully consummated the mighty enterprise. The importance of the Erie Canal was not then overrated. Railroads were little known, and would be still far behind their present development among us but that the canal, having first opened the country, made railroads possible and profitable—and to whatever extent railroads may hereafter be constructed, the Erie Canal will still remain the great regulator of the prices of transportation from the West to the East. Remaining the property of the State—free to the navigation, with equal tolls, of every man's boat, no combination can be made to keep up the prices of transportation, as they might have been kept up, but for the canal owned by the State. Calm and sober reflection, now that more than forty years have elapsed since we first used the canal, must admit that the rejoicings that attended the voyage of the first boats all the way to the sea were justified by the occasion; and all future ages must award to the men who brought this canal into being the high meed of Public Benefactors.

A synopsis of the early history of the canal will be attempted in the following pages.

In 1724, Cadwallader Colden, the Surveyor-General of the Province of New York, in his report to Governor Burnet, after

having mentioned the communication into Lake Ontario by the Onondaga River, says: "Besides the passage by the lakes, there is a river which comes from the country of the Senecas, and falls into the Onondaga River, by which we have an easy carriage into the country, without going near Cataraqui (Ontario) Lake. The head of this river goes near the Lake Erie, and probably may give a very near passage into that lake, and more advantageous than the way the French are obliged to take by the great Falls of Jagara (Niagara.)" (Colden's Memoir, p. 28.)

This is, doubtless, the first recorded speculation in regard to a water communication between the Mohawk River and Lake Erie across the interior of the country, and avoiding Lake Ontario entirely. It was but the expression of a hope that a more safe, as well as convenient way might be found to the trade of the upper lakes than that frequented by the French, and made dangerous to the frail boats then employed in the fur trade by the storms of Lake Ontario, and was, doubtless, abandoned by the Surveyor-General when he had acquired more knowledge of the country. In 1747, he published a history of the Five Nations of Indians, containing a map, on which the Genesee River is quite accurately laid down as running across the country between the Seneca River and Lake Erie; showing that there could be no such line of navigation, using the natural water courses, as in 1724 he hoped might exist. In the report of the Surveyor-General in 1724 is described the portage or carrying place, between the Mohawk and Wood Creek, where the Village of Rome now stands. He said the portage was three miles long, except in very dry weather, when goods must be carried two miles further.

Carver, who traversed the lake country one hundred years ago (1766), says that a water passage between the Mohawk and Wood Creek was at that time effected by sluices (Colden, p. 12), and, in 1768, Sir Henry Moore, in a message to the Colonial Legislature, proposed to remedy the obstructions to the navi-

gation of the Mohawk, between Schenectady and Fort Stanwix (now Rome), by sluices, like those in the great canal of Languedoc in France. (Colden, p. 13.)

Thus it appears that while we were but a colony of Great Britain, the subject of improving the natural water courses between the Hudson and the great lakes was a matter that attracted and received the attention of the Government, and as soon as we had secured our national independence the subject was still more vigorously pressed on the public attention.

In 1784, and again in 1785, Christopher Colles, of the City of New York, memorialized the Legislature, and procured an appropriation of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to enable him to examine the Mohawk River, with a view to its improvement (Clark's Onondaga, p. 51, vol. 2); and, in 1786, Jeffrey Smith, a member of the Legislature, asked leave to introduce a bill for the improvement of this navigation, and for "extending the same, if practicable, to Lake Erie." (Turner's Holland Purchase, p. 619.)

In 1791, Governor George Clinton, in his speech to the Legislature, urged the necessity of improving the natural water channels, so as to facilitate communications with the frontier settlements; and in that year a law was passed to authorize the Commissioners of the Land Office to survey the portage at Rome and the Mohawk to the Hudson for improvement by locks, and one hundred pounds were appropriated for the object. (State Engineer's Report, 1862, p. 619.)

The survey was made by Abraham Hardenburgh, under the advice of William Weston, an English engineer. (Clark's Onon., p. 51, vol. 2.) The Commissioners who had charge of the work were Elkanah Watson, General Schuyler and Goldsbrow Banyer. (State Engineer's Report, p. 91.)

The Commissioners made a report so favorable that the Legislature, on the thirtieth of March, 1792, passed an Act incorporating the "Western Inland Lock Navigation Company," with power to open a lock navigation from the Hudson to lakes

Ontario and Seneca. By the same Act the "Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company" was incorporated, with power to make a lock navigation from the Hudson to Lake Champlain. (State Engineer's Report, 1862, p. 92.)

The capital stock of each of these companies was at first fixed at twenty-five thousand dollars; afterwards the capital of the Western Company was raised to $300,000.

In 1795, the State subscribed ten thousand dollars, and, in 1796, loaned thirty-seven thousand five hundred dollars, taking a mortgage on the Little Falls canal and locks—and the company in 1813 had expended four hundred and eighty thousand dollars.

This large expenditure of money proved to be of very little utility. As early as 1796 the navigation was opened from Schenectady to Seneca Lake for boats of sixteen tons burthen, in favorable stages of the water in the rivers—but the locks being constructed of wood and brick soon failed and had to be rebuilt. The tolls were fifty-two cents on a barrel of flour for a hundred miles, and for a ton of goods for the same distance, five dollars and seventy-two cents. (State Engineer's Report, p. 93.) The high tolls and other expenses of this navigation were so onerous that land carriage on the poor roads of that day still continued to be the usual mode of communication between the interior and the seaboard.

In 1798, a company was incorporated to make a canal around the Falls of Niagara, but nothing was ever done under the law.

The Western Company employed Mr. Weston, the English engineer, to examine the Oswego River, and he reported the "navigation from Oswego Falls to Lake Ontario as hardly susceptible of improvement by means of canalling," and in 1808 the company surrendered to the State all their right to improve this river—and thus the leading object of the company, connecting the Hudson with Lake Ontario, was formally abandoned.

The history of both the Western and Northern Inland Lock Navigation Companies is but a repetition of failures, a record

of disappointed hopes. The friends of internal improvements in the interior and western parts of the State, by the end of the last century, ceased to look to the Western Company as likely to furnish any relief to their over-burthened cost of transportation. The statesmen of that day despaired of any advancement of the population and dignity of the State to be brought about by this abortive enterprise (Hosack's Memoir, p. 381.)

Most naturally, discussions in regard to what measures could be adopted to enable the owners of the rich lands of the interior to find their markets, at a reasonable cost, were constant among the public men at the beginning of this century. One of these discussions led to important results. Gouverneur Morris and Simeon DeWitt met in Schenectady in 1803, and passed an evening in a free interchange of views. The means of intercourse with the interior, was an important topic. Mr. Morris "mentioned the project of *tapping Lake Erie*, as he expressed himself, and leading its waters, in an artificial river, directly across the country to Hudson's River." To this Mr. DeWitt very naturally opposed the intermediate hills and valleys, as insuperable obstacles. Morris's answer was, in substance, *Labor improbus omnia vincit*, and that the object would justify the labor and expense, whatever it might be. "Considering this as a romantic thing," says Mr. DeWitt, "I related it on several occasions." (DeWitt's Letter. Canal Laws, vol. 1, p. 39.) Simeon DeWitt had then long been Surveyor-General of the State, and was well acquainted with its topography to the west bounds of the Military Tract, but owing to the fact that so much of the State as lies west of that tract was owned in large grants by companies that had made their own surveys, and had their own land offices, he possessed no especial advantages, growing out of his position, of knowing anything of the formation of the country west of the military lands; and he very naturally supposed that the rivers ran in deep valleys to Lake Ontario, and that between them were ranges of high hills. He was a man of caution, and dealt in facts, and had

little or nothing of the extravagant in his nature. Mr. Morris was a man of an entirely different stamp. He was a projector. He had seen canals in Europe, and knew their utility, and he had seen Lake Erie, and had long entertained the opinion that ships were some time to sail from London by the way of the Hudson to this inland sea. In view of the mighty results that would flow from a canal, all obstacles were but trivial in his mind, and hills and valleys, in his ardor, were swept away in the argument, by a Latin quotation. As early as 1777, Mr. Morris had publicly expressed his views in regard to internal improvements. "After the evacuation of Ticonderoga, when our scattered forces had been concentrated at Fort Edward, Mr. Morris arrived at General Schuyler's headquarters, on a mission from the Committee of General Safety, of this State." Governor Morgan Lewis (Hosack, p. 250) describes him as never doubting the ultimate triumph of our arms, and frequently descanting with great energy on what he termed "the rising glories of the western world," and announcing "that at no distant day the waters of the great western inland seas would, by the aid of man, break through their barriers and mingle with those of the Hudson." "I recollect asking him," says Governor Lewis, "how they were to break through the barriers. To which he replied, that numerous streams passed them through natural channels, and that artificial ones might be conducted by the same routes."

In 1800, Mr. Morris visited Lake Erie, and in December of that year wrote a letter to his friend John Parish, then of Hamburg, giving an account of his journey (Hosack, p. 257.) Of Niagara River, above the Falls, he says: "A quiet, gentle stream leaves the shores of a country level and fertile. Along the banks of this stream, which, by reason of the islands in it, appears to be of moderate size, we proceed to Fort Erie. Here again the boundless waste of waters fills the mind with renewed astonishment: and here, as in turning a point of wood the lake broke on my view, I saw, riding at anchor, nine vessels,

the least of them one hundred tons. Can you bring your imagination to realize this scene? Does it seem like magic? Yet this magic is but the early effort of victorious industry. Hundreds of large ships will in no distant period bound on the billows of those inland seas. At this point commences a navigation of more than a thousand miles. Shall I lead your astonishment to the verge of incredulity? I will. Know, then, that one-tenth of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign would enable ships to sail from London through Hudson's River to Lake Erie. As yet, my friend, we only crawl along the outer shell of our country. The interior excels the part we inhabit in soil, in climate, in everything. The proudest empire in Europe is but a bauble compared to what America will be, must be, in the course of two centuries, perhaps of one."

This shows how strongly Mr. Morris had at this early day become impressed with the great scheme of uniting Lake Erie with tide-water by a canal.

Among the men to whom Mr. DeWitt related the conversation at Schenectady, setting forth what he called Mr. Morris's "romantic" scheme, was a land surveyor, who had made his home amid the wilds of Central New York. In 1794 he had come from Pennsylvania in boats loaded with kettles for boiling salt; up the Susquehannah River to the Chemung and its branches, to the portage at Bath; then by the way of Crooked and Seneca lakes, and the rivers to the Salt Springs, where he had made salt and surveyed and cultivated land, until his neighbors had sent him to Albany to legislate for them in the year 1804. Mr. DeWitt had long known this man as one of his most trusted deputy surveyors, and quite naturally told him of the "romantic" scheme of Morris.

This surveyor, James Geddes, says in a letter to Dr. Hosack (1 Hosack, p. 235), "The impression made on my mind was vivid; the saving of so much lockage" (by avoiding the descent to, and the ascent from, Lake Ontario), "struck me as a grand desideratum. I had then been ten years in this coun-

try, a wilderness at that time, but partly penetrated, had a knowledge of the chain of swamps which stretch across the country from Montezuma to the Mohawk River, and readily entertained some idea of the practicability of the project." He says in his letter, dated February, 1822: "The idea of saving so much lockage, by not descending to Lake Ontario, made a lively impression on my mind, by which I was prompted on every occasion to enquire into the practicability of the project." (Canal Laws, vol. 1, p. 42.)

Mr. Geddes lived near the center of the State, and all his interests were connected with the growth and prosperity of the country in which he had made his home, and untiringly he pressed his investigations as to the character of the surface of the country west of the great chain of swamps. Extensive correspondence was resorted to with land agents, surveyors, and other men who, it was supposed, might be able to give information, and every available map consulted. He did not rest with this; he formed public opinion, and agitated the subject, until, in 1807, it had become a theme of so great interest in Onondaga County, that it became the turning point of local politics (see Appendix A.) Judge Joshua Forman, a citizen of that county, was one of those extraordinary men who possess the power of persuading other men to adopt their views and opinions to such an extent that they direct public opinion in the communities in which they live. A graduate of Union College, and a pupil in the study of the law of Samuel Miles Hopkins, he added to the bountiful gifts of Nature, the accomplishments of a scholar; to these were joined a singular grace of person and manner. Ardently advocating the canal scheme, he was by common consent selected to go to the Legislature to procure an appropriation of money to make surveys. In politics he was a Federalist, and his county was strongly against that party. To overcome this difficulty, leading Federalists and Democrats came together and formed a "Union ticket" for the Assembly, consisting of John McWhorter (Democrat),

and Joshua Forman (Federalist.) To give it strength it was headed "CANAL TICKET" (Clark, vol. 2, p. 72.) Prominent in its support were Doctor William Kirkpatrick, then a democratic member of Congress and Superintendent of Onondaga Salt Springs, and Thomas Wheeler, of the same side of politics, acting in concert with leading Federalists, including James Geddes and Elisha Alvord; and so strongly was the ticket pressed that, at Salina, Mr. Forman received one hundred and ten votes, and only two were given against him (Thomas Wheeler's Letter and Ira Gillchre's Personal Communications.) His election was triumphant (see Appendix B.) Thus the leading men of Onondaga laid aside party, and united in sending to the Assembly by far the best man the county had, to do the service then required. The example then set of ignoring party claims, was often followed in the many bitter contests that were afterwards encountered. This election was held in April, 1807. Six months afterwards, on the twenty-seventh day of October, appeared the first number of a series of articles in the *Ontario Messenger*, signed "Hercules," and written by Jesse Hawley, strongly advocating the construction of a canal on the interior route (see Appendix C.)

On the fourth day of February, 1808, Judge Forman, in the Assembly, called up for consideration a joint resolution which he had previously submitted, and which was in the following words: "*Resolved* (if the honorable the Senate concur herein), That a joint committee be appointed to take into consideration the propriety of exploring and causing an accurate survey to be made of the most *eligible* and *direct* route for a canal, to open communication between the tide-waters of the Hudson River and Lake Erie, to the end that Congress may be enabled to appropriate such sums as may be necessary to the accomplishment of that great national object; and in case of such concurrence, that Mr. Gold, Mr. Gilbert, Mr. Forman, Mr. German and Mr. Hogeboom, be a committee on the part of this

House." The fruit that this resolution bore, was the canals of the State of New York.

On the twenty-first day of March, Mr. Gold, from the joint committee, reported the resolution so amended as to order the Surveyor-General "to cause an accurate survey to be made of the rivers, streams and waters (not already accurately surveyed), in the usual route of communication between the Hudson River and Lake Erie, and such other contemplated route as he may deem proper, and cause the same to be delineated on charts or maps for that purpose accompanying the same, with the elevations of the route, and such explanatory notes as may be necessary for all useful information in the premises; of which one copy shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of this State, and another transmitted to the President of the United States, which the person administering the government of this State is requested to do." The Senate concurred on the sixth of April, and on the eleventh of April six hundred dollars were appropriated to enable the Surveyor-General to carry out the resolution.

To Judge Forman belongs the credit of procuring this first legislative action looking to the construction of a canal directly from the Hudson to Lake Erie. He displayed great tact in the management of the matter, and though his resolution was in the first instance received with derision, he made a very able speech, showing that he was fully informed on the subject of canals generally, and sketched the route, "following the Valley of the Mohawk to Rome, then the Valley of Oneida and Seneca rivers to the head of Mud Creek; from the west, from the Niagara up Tonawanda and down Allen's Creek to the Genesee River." (Hosack, p. 345—see Forman's letter there.) He estimated the cost at $10,000,000, which he said was a "bagatelle to the value of such a navigation." The expressions of ridicule with which the proposition was at first received, were no longer heard, but the ground on which some members said they voted for the resolution, was "that it *could do no harm*, and *might* do some good."

It will be observed, that the resolution, as passed, is unlike the one introduced, in this: Directions are given to survey the *usual* routes of communication, and only by the words "*such other routes as he may deem proper*," meeting the object of the mover. The joint committee could not be induced to take the responsibility of so wild a project; they only left a chance of its being examined at the discretion of the Surveyor-General. The very small sum appropriated was in itself proof that but little was expected to be done, and that was probably doled out to silence the importunities of the persistent representative of Onondaga.

Such was the reception given by the Legislature to the Erie Canal, when first presented for its consideration.

It had been a part of the plans of the men of Onondaga, that Mr. Geddes should make the surveys, and the Surveyor-General readily appointed him to do the work (Ira Gillchre's and James Geddes' personal communications to author.) On the eleventh of June, 1808, the Surveyor-General wrote Mr. Geddes, saying: "As the provision made for the expenses of this business is not adequate to the effectual exploring of the country, you will, in the first place, examine what may appear to be the best place for a canal from Oneida Lake to Lake Ontario in the town of Mexico, and take a survey and level of it;—also whether a canal cannot be made between Oneida Lake and Oswego, by a route in part to the west of the Oswego River, so as to avoid those parts along it where it will be impracticable to make a good navigation. The next object will be the ground between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, which must be examined with a view to determine what will be the most eligible track for a canal, from below the Niagara Falls to Lake Erie. If your means will admit of it, it would be a desirable thing to have a level taken throughout the whole distance between the two lakes. As Mr. Joseph Ellicott has given me a description of the country from Tonawanda Creek to the Genesee River, and pointed out a route for a

canal through that tract, it is important to have a continuation of it explored to the Seneca River. No leveling or survey of it will be necessary for the present (because the appropriation will probably by this time be expended.) It must be left as a work by itself, to be undertaken hereafter, should the Government deem it necessary. A view of the ground only, with such information as may be obtained from others, is all that can now be required of you."

Mr. Geddes at once commenced his explorations in accordance with these instructions of the Surveyor-General, and made careful surveys of both the routes proposed from Oneida Lake to Lake Ontario, and then went to the Niagara River, and leveled around the Falls, determining with great accuracy the whole descent in the river.

This whole survey of the Ontario route was not an agreeable work for Mr. Geddes, as his views were all directed to the finding of a line over which a canal could be made that would save the lockage down to Lake Ontario, and then up to the Rome summit; nevertheless, he executed the work as faithfully as it could have been done, had he entertained no other views than making a canal by that route. He spent the season and the money in this work, and thus carried out his instructions, but he had not accomplished the object that he had for years been aiming at. In his letter to Mr. Darby, of February 22, 1822, published in the Canal Laws, he says: "The spot of great difficulty and uncertainty respecting our *inland route* remained unexamined,—to-wit: the tract between Genesee River and Palmyra, or head waters of Mud Creek,—and the hopes from a view of maps discouraging indeed. Where was the water to be got for locking over the high land that was supposed to rise between Genesee River and Mud Creek? All knowledge of an interior route was incomplete while this piece of country remained unknown. In December of that year I again left home for the above object, and after discovering at the west end of Palmyra that singular brook

which divides, running part to Oswego and part to the Irondequot Bay, I leveled from this spot to the Genesee River, and to my great joy and surprise found the level of the river far elevated above the spot where the brooks parted, and no high lands between. But to make the Genesee River run down Mud Creek, it must be got over the Irondequot Valley. After leveling from my first line one and a half miles up the valley, I found the place where the canal is now making across that stream. * * * The passage of the Irondequot Valley is on a surface not surpassed, perhaps, in the world for singularity. The ridges, along the top of which the canal is carried, are, in many places, of just sufficient height and width for its support. * * * When the work is finished, the appearance to a stranger will be that nearly all these natural embankments are artificial works. * * * The surface of the foundation of the arch for the stream to pass through, is just seventy feet below the top water-line of the canal. * * * While traveling the snowy hills in December, 1808, I little thought of ever *seeing* the Genesee waters crossing this valley on the embankment now constructing over it. I had, to be sure, lively presentiments that *time* would bring about all I was planning; that boats would one day pass along on the tops of these fantastic ridges; that posterity would see and enjoy the sublime spectacle;—but that for myself, I had been born many, very many years too soon. There are those, Sir, who can realize my feelings on such an occasion, and can forgive if I felt disposed to exclaim, '*Eureka*,' on making this discovery. How would the great Brindley, with all his characteristic anxiety to avoid lockage, have felt in such a case; all his cares at an end about water to lock up from the Genesee River, finding no lockage required? Boats to pass over these arid plains, and along the very tops of these high ridges, seemed like idle tales to every one around me."

Early in the year 1805, Mr. Geddes had seen a map of the country west of the Genesee River, that led him to believe

that a route could be found there without difficulty; and Mr. Ellicott had, in his letter referred to by Mr. DeWitt, pointed out the route that appeared to him the best, and had given such information that no fears were entertained as to that part of the country. The great obstacles had been looked for between the Genesee River and the waters of the Seneca. The discovery of the passage of the Irondequot really solved the whole question.

It is quite common for men possessing much information in regard to the history of the canal, to say that its practicability was determined by the expenditure of the small sum of six hundred dollars—which was the sum the State appropriated for making the survey and the maps and report of 1808. The true statement of the case is this: The sum appropriated by the State was expended under the instructions of the Surveyor-General in determining the ineligibility of the Lake Ontario route. The eligibility of the interior route was determined at the cost of seventy-three dollars, advanced by the engineer from his own funds, and afterwards paid him by the State.

On the twentieth day of January, 1809, Mr. Geddes submitted his report to the Surveyor-General, and Mr. DeWitt said of it, in his letter to Mr. Darby, that it marked out a route "almost precisely in the line, which, after repeated, elaborate and expensive examinations, has been finally adopted." He continues: "Thus, then, was, by the operations of 1808, the fact satisfactorily established, that a canal from Lake Erie to Hudson's River was not only praticable, but practicable with uncommon facility." (Canal Laws, vol. 1, pp. 40–41.)

This report of Mr. Geddes occupies twenty-five pages of the first volume of the official history of the canal (Canal Laws, vol 1, from p. 13 to 38), and shows that the whole subject had been carefully considered. The route proposed, by the way of the Tonawanda swamp, Mr. Ellicott supposed would have a summit not more than twenty feet above the mouth of Tona-

wanda Creek, and not more than ten feet above Lake Erie; and that Oak Orchard Creek and some other streams would furnish sufficient water to supply this summit.

Mr. Geddes saw the objections to encountering this summit, and suggested there may be "found some place in the ridge that bounds the Tonawanda Valley on the north, as low as the level of Lake Erie, where a canal may be led across, and conducted onward, without increasing the lockage by rising to the Tonawanda Swamp." (Canal Laws, vol. 1, p. 32.) In this conjecture he proved to be substantially correct, and subsequent investigation showed that the Tonawanda Summit was seventy-five feet above Lake Erie.

It may be well to remark here, that but for the finding of a route out of the Tonawanda Valley to the north, and thus keeping below the level of Lake Erie, the canal could never have been successful. The supply of water on the Tonawanda Summit would have proved insufficient to transact the business of the canal before the lapse of many years; and if this had not proved to be so, it is very doubtful whether the one hundred and fifty feet of extra lockage would not have been looked upon as too formidable in the first cost, and as an obstruction too serious to navigation, to have given any preference to the interior route, over that by way of Lake Ontario. The same may be said in regard to the Irondequot embankment. But for those natural ridges, that now look like the work of man, we can hardly suppose that the public mind would have been brought up to hazarding the immense expenditure that would have been necessary to have constructed an entire embankment. The real object of Judge Forman's joint resolution was accomplished, so far as to establish the practicability of a canal by the interior route. The next thing to be done was to provide the money necessary to do the work. He had recited, in his resolution, the message of Mr. Jefferson to Congress, in which the President recommends that the surplus moneys of the Treasury, over and above such sums as could

be applied to the extinguishment of the national debt, be appropriated to the great national objects of opening canals and making turnpike roads. Believing this recommendation had been made in good faith, and that either the whole work would be assumed by the nation, or that, at the least, it would aid in it, Judge Forman, in January, 1809, made a journey to Washington to lay the project before Mr. Jefferson. Introduced by his representative in Congress, the same Wm. Kirkpatrick who had aided so much in electing him on the Onondaga "Canal Ticket," he stated that the State of New York had explored a route for a canal, that, once constructed, would people the whole Northwestern Territory; and he fully set forth the advantages of such a canal to the whole country, in peace and in war. After hearing attentively, the President replied that it was a very fine project, and might be executed a century hence. "Why, sir," he said, "here is a canal of a few miles, projected by General Washington, which, if completed, would render this a fine commercial city, which has languished for many years because the small sum of two hundred thousand dollars necessary to complete it cannot be obtained from the General Government, the State Government, or from individuals, and you talk of making a canal three hundred and fifty miles through the wilderness! It is little short of madness to think of it at this day."

In a letter to Gov. Clinton, in 1822, Mr. Jefferson alludes to this interview, and says: "Many, I dare say, still think, with me, that New York has anticipated, by a full century, the ordinary progress of improvement. This great work suggests a question, both curious and difficult, as to the comparative capability of nations to execute great enterprises. It is not from greater surplus of produce, after supplying their own wants, for in this New York is not beyond some other States: is it from other sources of industry additional to her produce? This may be: or is it a moral superiority—a sounder calculating mind, as to the most profitable employment of surplus, by

improvement of capital, instead of useless consumption? I should lean to this latter hypothesis, were I disposed to puzzle myself with such investigations." (Hosack, p. 348.)

Mr. Forman returned from Washington disappointed, but not discouraged. He knew that the report of the survey of 1808 furnished the materials for a successful agitation, and he and his coadjutors gave no rest to the public mind. Simeon DeWitt says: "The favorable light in which this year's work presented the projected enterprise, after encountering prejudices from various sources, and oppositions made for various reasons, induced the Legislature, in 1810, to organize a Board of Commissioners, with powers and means to prosecute the business." (Canal Laws, vol. 1, p. 41.) In a letter to Doctor Hosack, dated in 1828, Judge Forman says: "The report of Judge Geddes proved beyond a doubt the practicability of a canal on the interior route, and put at rest all further question of the one through Lake Ontario." (Hosack, p. 348.) Edward P. Livingston, who was a member of the New York State Senate from July, 1808, to 1812, says in his letter to Dr. Hosack: "The report of Mr. Geddes, in 1809, led the public mind more generally to think on the subject; and in 1810 Mr. Platt introduced his resolutions into the Senate." (Ibid., p. 395.)

Judge Platt lived in Oneida County, and had been elected to the Senate of the State in 1809; and appears, by his letter to Dr. Hosack (page 382 of his Memoir), to have been moved to introduce his resolution by the efforts of Thomas Eddy, who was one of the Directors of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, to have a law passed in aid of that Company. Mr. Platt felt that the time had come for the State to assume the whole subject of improving its internal navigation, and that a canal—not the removal of bars and obstructions from the beds of rivers, and the making of locks around the rapids —was the object at which the public should aim; that rivers and lakes should be made serviceable to feed a canal that should reach from Lake Erie to tide-water, if such could be

made. It took a night's argument to bring Mr. Eddy to see the force of this view; but, once convinced, he became a zealous and useful friend of such a canal.

The resolution was drawn up for the appointment of Commissioners with power to examine the whole subject and report their views to the Legislature. It was introduced on the thirteenth day of March, and by the fifteenth had passed both Houses by a unanimous vote,—such had been the progress in public opinion in the short time that had elapsed since Judge Forman's movement had been received with derision.

The resolution was drawn up with a view to place on the Commission men of commanding talents and position belonging to both political parties, whose services should be given without compensation. When the resolution was introduced, at the request of Mr. Clinton a blank was left for the names, that he might be unembarrassed in seconding it. The day after its passage, in blank, the names of Gouverneur Morris, Stephen Van Rensselaer, De Witt Clinton, Simeon De Witt, William North, Thomas Eddy and Peter B. Porter were inserted.

In this movement Mr. Platt consulted Stephen Van Rensselaer and Abraham Van Vechten, then members of the Assembly, and who both gave their valuable aid in that House.

During the session, three thousand dollars were appropriated to pay the expenses that the Commissioners might incur for surveys, and such objects, generally, as were embraced in the discharge of their duties.

Mr. Platt has given, in his letter to Doctor Hosack, an interesting account of his consultation with Mr. Clinton, saying: "Mr. Clinton was then a member of the Senate, and possessed a powerful influence over the dominant party in the State. * * * We requested an interview, and unfolded our plan, and the prominent facts and considerations in support of it. * * * Mr. Clinton listened with intense interest, and deep agitation of mind. He then said that he was in a great measure a stranger to the western interior of our State; that he had

given but little attention to the subject of canal navigation, but that the exposition of our plan struck his mind with great force; that he was then prepared to say that it was an object worthy of thorough examination; and that if I would move the resolution in blank (without the names of the Commissioners), he would second and support it;" and Judge Platt says: "From this period Mr. Clinton devoted the best powers of his vigorous and capacious mind to this subject, and he appeared to grasp and realize it as an object of the highest public utility, and worthy of his noblest ambition." (Hosack, pp. 383, 384.)

On the second day of July, 1810, the Commissioners all met at the Surveyor-General's office in Albany. (Campbell's Life of Clinton, p. 30.) Mr. DeWitt having engaged Mr. Geddes to attend them as surveyor from Utica, to show them the route he had reported in favor of, Gouverneur Morris and General Van Rensselaer determined to make the trip by land; the other Commissioners, except General North, by the line of the rivers in boats, as far as Geneva. The party in boats embarked on the fourth day of July, from Schenectady, and toiled up the Mohawk to Utica, making observations as they progressed, in regard to the river. On the tenth day of the month the Board were all present at a meeting in Utica, and there they met the surveyor. On July 12th the Commissioners held a meeting at Rome, to make their final arrangements for the exploration. Here their work really began, for this was the dividing point of the routes by Lake Ontario, and directly across the country. All east of this summit had been surveyed by the Western Lock Navigation Company, and had been used from the earliest period in which the country had been known. At this important meeting Mr. Morris gave his views in regard to the interior route. "He was for breaking down the mound of Lake Erie, and letting out the waters to follow the level of the country, so as to form a sloop navigation with the Hudson, without any aid from any other water." (Campbell's Life, p. 54.)

This shows what was meant by the expression used by Mr.

Morris in 1803, in his conversation with Mr. DeWitt—"*tapping Lake Erie.*" Mr. Clinton records this announcement of the senior Commissioner, in his Journal, but makes no comments. Though Mr. Morris had been considering the subject of a water communication from the great lakes to the Hudson, ever since 1777 (Hosack, p. 250), and had visited the canals of Europe to gather information, he had not arrived at any true conception of what the face of the country would permit of being done, and it is not strange that Mr. DeWitt should have called his scheme a "*romantic*" thing. The surveyor, who had for six years been gathering facts and making examinations of the country, knew that such a scheme was utterly impracticable. Long after this, in 1829, Mr. Geddes said, in a published letter, "I had great opportunities for being acquainted with Mr. Morris' canal notions. His great desire to lessen lockage probably suggested the idea of passing across the country south of Lake Ontario."

From Rome the Commissioners adjourned to meet at Geneva. Oswego was visited, and the party retraced their way to Three-River Point, and thence up the Seneca River to Cayuga and Seneca lakes, arriving at Geneva on July 24th, where they found a letter from that part of the company that had gone by land, promising to meet them on the Niagara River.

The parties that explored the rivers consisted of Messrs. Clinton, DeWitt, Eddy, North and Porter, Commissioners, and Geddes, Surveyor.

This journey was taken at no little hazard to health at this season of the year. Great pains were taken to protect the party from malaria, and only one or two of the number experienced much injury from the deadly fevers that then made these rivers of so bad repute.

At Geneva the boats were sold, and carriages procured. From this place the party went to view the confluence of Mud Creek and the Canandaigua Outlet at Lyons. Mr. Clinton says in his Journal that on the twenty-seventh of July they "crossed

the Irondequoit Creek at Mann's Mills, where Mr. Geddes proposes a great embankment for his canal, from the Genesee River to the head waters of Mud Creek. He crosses Irondequoit Creek here, in order to obtain the greatest elevation of ground on the other side." (Campbell, p. 111.)

The Genesee River was carefully observed at the point where Rochester now stands; and then the party went on westward by the Ridge Road, and arrived at Lewiston at the end of the month, and on the second day of the month were joined by Morris and Van Rensselaer.

On the third of August a meeting was held at Chippewa, at which they gave Mr. Geddes instructions to take levels and distances on a variety of points, and adjourned to meet in the City of New York. (Campbell, p. 132.)

On the fifth of August Mr. Clinton says they were at Buffalo, which he describes as a place of great resort. All persons that travel to the Western States and Ohio, from the Eastern States, and all that visit the Falls of Niagara, come this way. The village, he said, "contained from thirty to forty houses, * * five lawyers and no church." (Campbell, pp. 136, 137.)

At Black Rock the party broke up, leaving Mr. Geddes to commence his surveys.

Mr. Geddes' first business was to find, if such a place existed, a depression in the range of lands that bounded the Valley of the Tonawanda Creek on its north side—through which the waters of Lake Erie might be carried without too deep cutting to be admissible. In this he was entirely succesful.

On the second day of March, 1811, the Commissioners made their first report, drawn up by their President, Mr. Morris. They reported against the Lake Ontario route, giving such good reasons for so doing, that henceforth only enemies of the canal urged its adoption.

In reference to an inland navigation the Commissioners say, that they "beg leave to refer for information to the annexed reports and maps of Mr. James Geddes. * * * From these

it is evident that such navigation is practicable. Whether the route he sketched out will hereafter be pursued—whether a better may not be found—and other questions subordinate to those, can only be solved at a future time. (Canal Laws, p. 52.)

The Commissioners go on to give a general view of the country, and propose a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson with an average descent of six inches per mile. This was Mr. Morris' idea of a canal, and to carry it out he was willing to make the enormous embankments that would be required to cross the valleys of the Genesee, twenty-six feet high, Seneca eighty-three feet, and Cayuga one hundred and thirty feet. He estimated the cost of such a canal from the Niagara River to the Hudson at only five million dollars.

One valuable suggestion of this report will forever remain of controlling force. They protest against any private individuals or company owning this canal—urging that it would prevent cheap transportation.

On the eighth day of May, 1811, a law was passed adding to the Commission Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton, and giving power to employ engineers and make further surveys, and to make application to the National and State Governments for aid to execute the great work. Fifteen thousand dollars were appropriated.

On the fourteenth day of March, 1812, the Commissioners made their second report, in which they say they have met with no success in their application to other States and the National Government for aid; and say that, having once offered the canal to the Government and the offer not having been accepted, the State is at liberty to consult and pursue the maxims of policy, and derive for itself the benefits of the tolls that may justly be collected. They say that they have continued their surveys, and quote from a letter of the English engineer, Mr. Weston: "From the perspicuous topographical description and neat plan and profile of the route of the contemplated canal, I entertain little doubt of the practicability of

the measure." (Canal Laws, vol. 1, pp. 81, 82.) These maps and profiles were made by Mr. Geddes, and sent to England for the opinion of the then most eminent engineer of that country. In this report Mr. Morris abandons his idea of an inclined plane east of the Seneca outlet. The estimated cost of a canal is raised to $6,000,000.

In November, 1811, Judge Benjamin Wright, of the Village of Rome, who had been in the service of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company as an engineer, was employed to make a survey of the north side of the Mohawk River. His report demonstrated the impracticability of a canal along that river having a uniform descent of six inches to the mile. (Canal Laws, vol. 1, pp. 531–557.)

The Commissioners had now in their service two men who afterwards became eminent as engineers, and of whom it may with truth be said, they were the fathers, in this country, of a new liberal profession; and that of the great number of able civil engineers that have succeeded them, none have excelled them. But of the capacity of these two men the Commissioners and the public generally had not become informed, and the report of 1812 calls them surveyors, and dwells on the importance of securing the services of a "capable engineer of the first talents, tried integrity and *approved experience*." Afterwards, in 1821, the Commissioners say that to these two men the State is mostly indebted for the manner in which they discharged their duties—and that they have been found equal to the high trusts confided to them. (Canal Laws, vol. 2, p. 23.)

To the fact that the Commissioners for many years expected to put the canal in charge of an engineer of European reputation, we may ascribe the practice that very early grew up, of not giving the reports of what they called their "surveyors" to the public. The reports of the engineers were generally used by the Commissioners to furnish materials that in the more imposing name of the Commission, were laid before the Legislature.

On the nineteenth day of June, 1812, an important law was passed, authorizing the Commissioners to purchase all the rights and interests of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, with certain provisos, and to borrow the sum of five millions of dollars, to be used in the construction of the canal.

On the eighth day of March, 1814, the Commissioners reported that they had appointed an English engineer who was soon to be at work ascertaining the best line for the canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson; and that they have caused further investigations to be made up to the last summer, when they were suspended in consequence of the war. In this report they express a desire not to be held as committed *exclusively* to a canal descending according to the level of the country, like an inclined plane. (Canal Laws, vol. 1, p. 105.)

On the fifteenth day of April, 1814, the law of 1812, authorizing the borrowing of five million dollars, was repealed. The war with Great Britain then absorbed all thoughts and all energies; and, while it continued, all efforts for a canal were abandoned, and the project slept until, in the fall of 1815, a movement was made in the City of New York by Mr. Clinton, Judge Platt and Mr. Eddy. Cards of invitation were sent to about one hundred men to meet at the City Hall, to consult as to the best measures to be adopted. William Bayard was chairman and John Pintard secretary.

Judge Platt made a speech, and urged the formal abandonment of the plan of an inclined plane, and the appointment of a committee to prepare and circulate a memorial to the Legislature in favor of the canal. Mr. Clinton was put at the head of this committee, and associated with him were Thomas Eddy, Cadwallader D. Colden and John Swartwout. Mr. Clinton drew the memorial, with his wonderful ability, showing a perfect knowledge of the subject, with a sagacious discernment of its beneficial results to the State and to the Nation. (Platt in Hosaek's Memoir, pp. 385–6.)

This was a signal for a concerted movement along the whole

line. Great meetings were held at Albany, Utica, Onondaga, Geneva, Canandaigua and Buffalo. The meeting in Onondaga was held on the twenty-third day of February, 1816, and was presided over by James Geddes, and its memorial was drawn by Joshua Forman. It was signed by over three thousand petitioners. (Clark's Onon., vol. 2, p. 59.) At the meeting in Canandaigua Colonel Troup presided, and Gideon Granger, John Greig, John Nicholas, Nathan N. Howell and Myron Holly took active part in its proceedings. This agitation led to more than one hundred thousand petitioners asking the Legislature to at once go on with the construction of the canal.

On the eighth day of March, 1816, the Commissioners made their next report, and in this they call on the Legislature to furnish means to pay a professional engineer; and say that there are so few competent persons in Europe that there is every inducement to employ one of our own countrymen, if the necessary scientific and practical knowledge can be found.

The negotiations with Mr. Weston, who had acted as consulting engineer, and as such had examined the maps and profiles of Mr. Geddes, had failed. He had been offered a salary of seven thousand dollars a year to leave England and come and take the direction of the construction of the canal. At last he gave a final refusal, saying he only declined the greatest honor ever offered him because of age and family matters. Thus the Commissioners were forced to employ native and New York talent.

The report of 1816 says nothing about inclined planes; and it is not signed by Mr. Morris, as Mr. Colden (p. 45) suggests, for this reason.

Much surveying had been done, out of deference to Mr. Morris' views (Personal Communications from Mr. Geddes), his tenacity being very great. But the measure had passed beyond his control; and with his influence passed away the idea that a foreign engineer must have the direction of the location and construction of our canals.

Though the war had checked the enterprise for a while, it had conclusively shown the importance of its success. The want of a practicable communication from the seaboard to the lakes was grievously felt. It has been said that at one time the cost of transportation of cannon from Albany to the lakes was twice, and more than twice, their first cost. (Colden, p. 42.)

The flood of petitions poured on the Legislature was answered by the passage, on the seventeenth day of April, 1816, of "An Act to provide for the improvement of the internal navigation of this State."

The joint committee of the Senate and Assembly, by Mr. Jacob Rutzen Van Rensselaer, made their report, on the twenty-first day of March; and they embraced in it statements from Mr. Geddes of the character of the route from Lake Erie to the Seneca River, and of Mr. Wright, from the Seneca River to the Hudson.

The report of the committee, embracing the communications of these engineers, was strongly in favor of immediately commencing the work. After a very long discussion, this bill was so amended as to provide for the making of surveys and the gathering of information in regard to the whole cost, not only of the Erie Canal, but of a canal along the Hudson from tide-water to Lake Champlain. But no authority was given to commence the work.

The Commission was somewhat altered by the law of 1816; Mr. Morris, General Peter B. Porter and Simeon DeWitt, of the original Commission, were left off; and some new names added,—so that the Commission as newly constituted consisted of Stephen Van Rensselaer, DeWitt Clinton, Samuel Young, Joseph Ellicott and Myron Holley. Mr. Morris was doubtless left off in consequence of the difficulties that had grown out of the drawing of the last report. That Mr. Morris felt the injury that was being done him, appears from his note dated March 9, 1816, which was published in the *American* in April, 1819. He says: "I have an ardent wish that the canal may be made; but so humble is my ambition, that I am content

that the reputation of having imagined, proposed, and carried it into effect, be given to any person." Could this blow have been deferred four months, he would have been beyond its reach, for by that time he was in his grave. General Porter was concerned in determining the boundary line between the United States and the British Possessions—he being Commissioner for our Government.

Twenty thousand dollars were appropriated to carry out the Canal Law of 1816.

In 1814, the Canal Commissioners had proposed the Champlain Canal; and by 1816 it had become evident to the friends of the Erie Canal that they must combine the Northern Canal with their own to get the necessary strength in the Legislature: and thus the projects were united.

On the seventeenth day of May, 1816, the Commissioners met at New York, and appointed Mr. Clinton, President, Mr. Young, Secretary, and Mr. Holley, Treasurer; and on the seventeenth day of February, 1817, they made their first report, from which it appears that Mr. Ellicott, having for his engineer William Peacock, made a careful exploration of the route that he had favored from Buffalo to the Genesee River, by way of the summit between Tonawanda Creek and Black Creek;—that Mr. Geddes took a point eleven miles up the Tonawanda Creek and followed his route, keeping below the level of Lake Erie, and leading its waters as far east as the Seneca River, where his section terminated. Of this section, thus marked out, the Commissioners say, it has a level of sixty-nine miles and fifty-one and one-half chains; and they speak of it as having other great advantages.

The middle section of the canal extended from the Seneca River to Rome, and was put under the charge of Mr. Benjamin Wright. The eastern section, extending from Rome to the Hudson River, was put under Mr. Charles C. Broadhead as engineer. The Northern Canal had for its engineer Lewis Garin.

As has been stated, all efforts to secure the services of the

English engineer, Mr. Weston, having failed, the Commissioners were in great doubt as to the best course to pursue. Under these circumstances, Mr. Geddes and Mr. Wright, having consulted with each other, appeared before the Board, and expressed their confidence in their ability to locate and construct the canals, but expressed a strong desire that the Commissioners should feel a like confidence, if they were to be entrusted with the responsibility. (Personal Communication from James Geddes.) Most fortunately for the State, the Commissioners gave these engineers that confidence. But in so doing they encountered the censures of the enemies of the canals, in and out of legislative halls. On the Assembly floor, it was tauntingly asked, "Who is this James Geddes, and who is this Benjamin Wright, that the Commissioners have trusted with this responsibility—what canals have they ever constructed? What great public works have they accomplished?" But, really, the Commissioners had no alternative—and now it is easy to see that the course adopted was much wiser than to have entrusted the canals to the keeping of any one man, as would have been the case had the efforts made to secure Mr. Weston been successful.

To add still more to these difficulties in regard to the engineering, it was said in high places, by men who claimed much knowledge on such subjects, that no confidence could be placed in an ordinary engineer's spirit level for laying out long lines of canal, and that there was no possibility of running a line for the long levels, that was not liable to be erroneous to the whole depth of the canal. So much annoyance did these cavilers produce, that in the next year it was deemed expedient that in order to settle that matter a full test should be made. It was decided that Mr. Geddes should start at a given point on the canal line at Rome, and carry a level along the road to the east end of Oneida Lake; and taking the height of the lake while the water was tranquil, that he should then connect by a level the Oneida with Onondaga Lake; after which carry a level from that lake to the canal line; thence to work east, laying off

sections along the canal line. This he did, and laid out nine miles towards Rome. Mr. Wright started from the same point in Rome, and carried the line westward until he came to the stakes set by Mr. Geddes. The levels of these two engineers, which embraced a circuit of nearly one hundred miles, differed from each other less than an inch and a half! (Canal Laws, vol. 1, pp. 369, 370, and Personal Communication.) The publication of the result of this test level put an end to much of the talk of pretenders to scientific knowledge.

The report of the Commissioners in March, 1817, was very elaborate, and was made up chiefly from the reports of the engineers, and without giving them any credit; but so drawn as to make only the Commissioners appear to the public (see Mr. Wright's letter in Hosack's Memoir, p. 504); and this continued to be henceforth the uniform practice of the Commissioners.

On the fifteenth day of April, 1817, the canal policy of this State was finally established by law. The law was supported in the Assembly with great ability by many members, and opposed as desperately by others. The eminent Elisha Williams, then a member from Columbia County, broke over the claims of local interests and gave the bill a support that was decisive. "He appealed to the members from New York City, who were almost to a man hostile to the project. 'If,' said he, turning to a leading member of that delegation, 'if the canal is to be a shower of gold, it will fall upon New York; if a river of gold, it will flow into her lap.'" (Hosack, p. 450.)

In the Senate, Mr. Martin Van Buren's support was as efficient as that of Mr. Williams in the Assembly. He insisted that the facts were then fully ascertained, and that the time had come to commence the work. So marked was the effect of Mr. Van Buren's speech, that when he sat down, Mr. Clinton, who had been a listener in the Senate Chamber, "breaking through that reserve which political collisions had created, approached him and expressed his thanks for his exertions, in the most flattering terms." (Hosack, p. 453.)

The law had still to pass the ordeal of the Council of Revision. Judge Platt, who had become one of the members of that body, gives the following account of its action. The Council consisted of Lieutenant and Acting Governor Tayler, Chancellor Kent, Chief-Justice Thompson, Judges Yates and Platt. After the bill had been read, the President called on the Chancellor for his opinion. He said he had given very little attention to the subject; that it appeared to him a gigantic project, which would require the wealth of the United States to accomplish; that it had passed the Legislature by small majorities, after a desperate struggle; and he thought it inexpedient to commit the State in such a vast undertaking until public opinion could be better united in its favor. Chief-Justice Thompson said he cherished no hostility to the canal, and that he would not enquire as to the majorities; as the Legislature had agreed to the measure he would be inclined to leave the responsibility with them; but he said the bill gave arbitrary powers to the Commissioners over private rights, without proper guards, and he therefore opposed the bill. Judge Yates was a decided friend of the canal, and voted for the bill. Judge Platt was also ardent in its favor. The Lieutenant-Governor "panted with honest zeal to strangle the infant Hercules in its birth by his casting vote in the negative." A warm discussion arose, but a more temperate examination of the bill obviated in some measure the objections of the Chancellor and Chief-Justice. "Vice-President Daniel D. Tompkins, late Governor of the State, came into the Council Chamber and familiarly took a seat, and joined in the argument, which was informal and desultory. He expressed a decided opinion against the bill, and among other reasons, he stated that the late peace with Great Britain was a mere truce; that we should undoubtedly have a renewed war with that country, and that, instead of wasting the credit and resources of the State on this chimerical project, we ought immediately to employ all the revenue and credit of the State, in providing ar-

senals, arming the militia, erecting fortifications and preparing for war. "Do you think so, sir?" said Chancellor Kent. "Yes, sir," was the reply; "England will never forgive us for our victories on the land and on the ocean and the lakes; and my word for it, we shall have another war with her within two years." The Chancellor, then rising from his seat, with great animation declared, "If we are to have war, or to have a canal, I am in favor of the canal, and I vote for the bill." Thus Platt, Yates and Kent out-voted Tayler and Thompson, and the bill became a law.

So narrow are the chances on which great measures sometimes turn. The accidental coming into the Council Chamber of the Vice-President of the United States, to oppose an already lost measure by using, for his purposes, an unfortunate argument, made no less a man than the great lawgiver of this continent change his views, and with his change the fortunes of the bill were changed. The Chancellor, looking from his political standpoint, undoubtedly thought that if the ability of this State was taxed to the utmost in constructing a canal, the dominant party would find more difficulty in involving the nation in war, than it would have, if our finances were embarrassed; and that with the Vice-President "the wish was father to the thought."

This law, that was passed with so much difficulty, created the Board known as the "Commissioners of the Canal Fund," consisting of the Lieutenant-Governor, the Comptroller, the Attorney-General, the Surveyor-General, the Secretary of State and the State Treasurer, whose duty it is "to manage to the best advantage all things belonging to said fund."

The Canal Commissioners were authorized to commence constructing the canals from lakes Erie and Champlain to the Hudson River, by opening communication by canals and locks between the Mohawk and Seneca rivers, and between Lake Champlain and the Hudson River, receiving from the Commissioners of the Canal Fund the moneys necessary.

A fund was created, by imposing a duty of twelve and a half cents per bushel upon all salt to be manufactured in the western district of this State; a tax of one dollar on every passenger that should make a trip of over one hundred miles on any steamboat on the Hudson River, and half that sum for any distance less than one hundred miles and over thirty miles; the proceeds of all lotteries which should be drawn in this State, after the sums then granted on them were paid; all the net proceeds from the Western Inland Navigation Company property which was to be purchased; all the donations made, or to be made; all the duties upon sales at auction, after deducting $33,500 annually, which sum was appropriated to the Hospital, Economical School, Orphan Asylum, and foreign poor in the City of New York.

Besides these several means of revenue, $250,000 were to be raised by levying a tax on all the lands and real estate lying along the route of said canals, and within twenty-five miles thereof on each side; the assessment to be made by the Canal Commissioners according to the benefit which, in their opinion, will be derived from the canals.

This financial scheme proved eminently successful. The salt duties alone paid towards the canals more than $3,000,000—which is considerably more than one-third of the cost of both of them—and by September, 1833, the salt and auction duties had paid $5,812,621. (State Engineer's Report, 1862, p. 139.) The tax on steamboat passengers was suspended the next year, the tax on lands along the canals was never collected, and the lotteries never paid anything.

George Tibbetts, then a Senator from Troy, was the author of this financial scheme, and to him belongs the great credit that has so justly been awarded to it. (Hosack. See Stone's and Tibbetts' account.)

Thus has been traced from the suggestion of Gouverneur Morris to Simeon DeWitt, in 1803, to the year 1817, the project of uniting Lake Erie and tide-water on the Hudson River;

for thus long was the State in maturing anything that can justly be called a CANAL POLICY; and from so small a beginning did this mighty policy spring.

The time was ripe; and the men just fitted to do the various things that were necessary to be done, most fortunately stood ready for the duty. Gouverneur Morris is, beyond all doubt, entitled to the credit of having made the suggestion of the "interior route." This suggestion was seized by a man who, though of few words, was persevering, and who by hard labor accomplished great results.

It has been asked why Mr. Geddes, being a member of the Legislature when Mr. DeWitt told him of Mr. Morris' "romantic" scheme, did not move for some legislative action. The answer is, he had then had no time to mature his views, nor had he yet gathered such facts as were necessary to justify legislative action. To appropriate all the knowledge of the topography of the country that then existed, was his first work. Correspondence with land agents and surveyors in the Western part of the State was resorted to, and so successful had been his inquiries that when, in 1808, Mr. DeWitt issued his instructions as to a survey, Mr. Ellicott had pointed out a route from the Niagara River to the Genesee—which, if a better one could not be found, it was thought would answer for the then supposed wants of a canal—so that the whole question was very soon narrowed down to the country between the Genesee River and the headwaters of Mud Creek. By 1807, the time had come for legislative action, and few men have ever lived in this State better calculated to procure such action than Joshua Forman. The only apparent difficulty was in his belonging to the Federal party in politics, and living in a county strongly Democratic, and thus as a partisan he could not be elected; and to secure his services it was necessary to form a new party—a canal party. This was done so well that the then Democratic member of Congress, Dr. Kirkpatrick, as well as many others prominent in that party, ardently supported

the movement. Forman was successful in the Legislature, and the survey of 1808 was the result; and this survey led to the appointment of a Board of Canal Commissioners, having for one of its members DeWitt Clinton, who personally informed himself of the topographical formation of the country, and thus became convinced of the practicability of a canal: and holding the position that he did in political influence in the State, he was able to do more than it has at any other time been granted to one man to do for the glory and prosperity of our State.

In a Government constituted like ours, no great measure can be successful without the concurrence of the efforts of many influential men; and now that we look back on this, we can not but see that, while to no one man can we give all the credit, there is enough to divide, and give an ample share to every one of those who were instrumental in bringing everything to a successful conclusion.

No more fitting words can be chosen to close this paper than those used by Mr. Morris in the Commissioners' Report of 1812:

"The life of an individual is short. The time is not distant when those who make this report will have passed away. But we can fix no term to the existence of a State; and the first wish of a patriot's heart is, that his own may be eternal. But whatever limit may have been assigned to the duration of New York, by those eternal decrees which established the heavens and the earth, it is hardly to be expected that she will be blotted from the list of political societies before the effects here predicted shall have been sensibly felt. And even when, by the flow of that perpetual stream which bears all human institutions away, our Constitution shall be dissolved and our laws be lost, still the descendants of our children's children will remain. The same mountains will stand, the same rivers flow; new moral combinations will be formed on the old physical foundations and the extended line of remote posterity;

yet, after the lapse of thousands of years, and the ravages of repeated revolutions,—when the records of history shall have been obliterated, and the tongue of tradition have converted the shadowy remembrance of ancient events into childish tales of miracle,—this national work shall remain. It shall bear testimony to the genius, the learning, the industry and intelligence of the present age."

AUTHOR'S APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX A.

JUDGE OLIVER R. STRONG, now eighty-five years old, still hale and hearty, in the full possession of all his faculties, who for nearly half a century held important offices—among them Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, Member of Assembly, and County Treasurer—and who all his life has commanded the respect of all men, has at various times reminded me of a conversation that occurred early in 1804, immediately after Mr. Geddes had returned from serving in the Legislature of that year, at Onondaga Hill, then the county seat; naming as present Dr. Walter Cotton, General John C. Ellis, Warren Ellis, and others. Mr. Geddes told the gentlemen present, of the suggestion that he had received in Albany of a route for a canal across the country direct from Lake Erie, avoiding Lake Ontario entirely; and urged its importance, and the probability of the practicability of such a scheme. Judge Strong has written me a letter saying that he well remembers the election of Judge Forman in 1807; that Forman was well known to be in favor of a canal: saying, "I know many of the party opposed to him politically, voted for him under the belief that he would render essential service in promoting the object which was near the hearts of all at that time; namely, the canal." Judge Strong voted at that election, and he verifies the date of the conversation of Mr. Geddes in regard to the information he had brought from Albany, by circumstances that leave no doubt as to the accuracy of his memory. In Mr. Geddes' letter to Dr. Hosack (page 262 of the Memoir) he said: "When Mr. Morris' project of constructing a canal across the country the whole distance from Lake Erie to the Hudson, was made known and discussed in the interior, the scheme was adopted there, and spread with inconceivable rapidity."

APPENDIX B.

In 1846, Judge Forman, feeble with old age, made a journey from his then home in North Carolina, to visit his friends yet alive in Onondaga. His presence here produced much excitement, which found some expression in a public dinner given him at the Syracuse House. At this dinner speeches were made, and the Judge's services to the State and this locality furnished a fruitful topic. Thomas Wheeler, then a resident of Salina, wrote a letter for publication in the *Onondaga Democrat*, from which the following extract is taken:

"In April, 1807, Judge Forman called on me at Salina, and wanted me to support him for Member of Assembly, and urged as an inducement that he wanted to make a proposition for a canal from Lake Erie to the Hudson; and also urged the Duke of Bridgewater's canal and the great increase of the salt trade after it was finished. He alluded to the remark of Thomas Jefferson, that there was money in the United States Treasury which might be appropriated to roads and canals; and took the ground that there was no other place where a canal could be made, on account of the Alleghany Mountains, in the United States, but through the State of New York, to connect the great lakes with tide-water. He also stated that Gouverneur Morris had written from the banks of Lake Erie that the money that Great Britain had expended in one campaign in war would make a ship canal from where he stood to tide-water; that the canal, if made, must pass near where he then sat; that it should be a State concern and not a political one; and went into a calculation of the expense, which, with wooden locks, we made less than $5,000,000. Thus he urged me for more than an hour; but I refused. He then started to go away, and when near the door turned round and asked me if I ever stood on Caneseraga Hills, and observed that the country north, east and west was level as far as the eye could reach. I told him I had; and then I thought, if a canal was only made from Rome to Cayuga Lake, it would be of great advantage to this section of the State, and so I agreed to support him, and thought the business closed. But he was not satisfied. He wanted to see William Kirkpatrick, the Superintendent of the Onondaga Salt Springs. The Doctor came, and much the same arguments and calculations were used and gone through with; at the close of which, Doctor K. raised both hands and said, with much emphasis, "I will support you." Soon after, I gave a boy three dollars to attend the election in another town, and see that each elector had a ticket with Joshua Forman's name on it, which I think was the first money ever paid for starting the Erie Canal."

To give further information in regard to the election of Judge Forman in

1807, the statement of Mr. Ira A. Gillchres, who still lives in the town of Salina, is added to this note.

In 1806, coming from Whitesboro, Oneida County, with Captain William Gillchres, his father, Judge Forman and others, from attending a lawsuit, in which Capt. Gillchres was a party, and Judge Forman was his lawyer, they rested on top of Caneseraga Hill. Judge Forman pointed out the level country north of them, and said to Captain G.,—"Is not that a fine plain? The time is not far distant when you will see vessels sailing along that plain; you will see the waters of the Hudson and Lake Erie mingled together." Explaining his views at length, Captain G. became convinced of their value, and said to the Judge that he should go to the Legislature and get an appropriation for surveys. To this the reply was, that, being a Federalist, he could not expect to be elected. To this Captain G. said he thought that his influence in the Democratic party might overcome that difficulty. Mr. Ira A. Gillchres goes on to say, that the political movement thus suggested by his father was made, and that the ticket at the election was headed "*Canal Ticket*," and that from Captain Gillchres' tavern in Salina these tickets were sent over the country. The heading of the tickets was designed to give strength to the movement. This same Ira A. Gillchres was one of Mr. Geddes' party in his survey in 1808.

This long note is inserted that there may be no doubt as to the fact that the election in 1807 turned in Onondaga County on the question of a canal *across the country* (not by Lake Ontario), as the whole matter has been ignored by the claimants to the honor of first proposing the interior route, without having received the suggestion as coming from Gouverneur Morris.

APPENDIX C.

In 1829 appeared Dr. Hosack's Memoir of DeWitt Clinton. In the Appendix (page 301, &c.), Mr. Hawley sets up the claim to have been the originator of the overland route; and again, in the *Monroe Democrat*, in 1835, he pressed his claim on the public. To the *Democrat* Mr. Geddes wrote under date of November 16th, 1835, and said: "In a letter written February, 1822, by Simeon DeWitt, Esq., the late Surveyor-General, which letter has been published in the Edinburgh *Encyclopedia*, he says—'The merit of first starting the idea of a direct communication by water between Lake Erie and Hudson River, unquestionably belongs to Mr. Gouverneur Morris. The first suggestion I had of it was from him in 1803.' * * Mr. DeWitt further remarks—'Mr. Geddes says, when in company with Mr. Jesse Hawley it (the canal project) became a subject of conversation, which probably led to enquiries that induced Mr. Hawley to write the essays which afterwards ap-

peared in newspapers, on the subject of carrying a canal from Lake Erie to Albany.' The above letter remained seven years unnoticed, until 1829, when Dr. Hosack's Memoir appeared, containing Mr. Hawley's letter." Mr. Geddes goes on to say: "Bound in the same boards was a letter to Dr. Hosack from me (p. 226), in which I say I have not the least doubt that the ideas of every one on the internal route project are traceable to the conversations in 1803, between DeWitt and Morris. And was it not reasonable that no doubt should remain with me, seven years having passed away without the appearance of any gainsayer?" * * * "In writing to Dr. Hosack in 1829, through precipitancy, not consulting dates which were at my hand, I blundered respecting the *year* when I saw Mr. Hawley in Geneva and informed him of Mr. Morris' canal project. Mr. Hawley says it was at Geneva, *when* '*visiting his relatives* with whom I boarded.' That this visit was in 1805, and not in 1806, can be proved by several persons now (1835) living, and by written records indisputable. In the *Democrat* of the thirteenth of October, Mr. Hawley says—'The idea occurred to me about the fifth of April, 1805.' This was about two months *after* his interview with me, and not about ten months *before*, as he writes to Dr. Hosack." In Mr. Geddes' letter to Dr. Hosack, page 256, he says: "I have the most perfect recollection of circumstances, time and place, when I informed Mr. Jesse Hawley of the project. * * * I had a few days before seen a map of the Genesee River, from which I had received new ideas as to the probable track of such a canal; and finding in him a taste for such disquisitions, I conversed at length with him on the subject, and have no doubt but that I then informed him that the idea came from Mr. Morris."

APPENDIX D.

Since the foregoing paper on the "Origin of the Erie Canal" was read before the Buffalo Historical Society, I have been favored by Gouverneur Morris, Esq., son of the projector of the interior route of the canal, with the opportunity of a full examination of such papers as are still preserved, that were left by that extraordinary man. From 1800, to within a few days of his death, in 1816, he kept a diary, in which are entered, however, only such matters as related to farm operations, the state of the weather, and the journeys he made; nor, except in rare instances, is there to be found any allusion to public events, or to public matters. Yet there were a few things that appeared worth reproducing here, as throwing light on some points discussed in the body of the paper. In 1803 Mr. Morris made a journey by way of Oneida and Ontario lakes to his lands in St. Lawrence County. At Three-River Point (the confluence of the Onondaga, Oneida and Seneca rivers), he appears to

have been struck with the fact that the canal must follow along the line of these rivers and the Oneida Lake, as by so doing it would be lower than the Rome Summit; so he writes in his diary that it "should be taken from the head of Onondaga [Seneca?] River, and carried on the level as far east as it will go, and, if practicable, into the Mohawk River; then, in as direct a course as circumstances will permit, to Hudson's River, making locks as the descent may require. This canal should, I think, be five feet deep, and five-and-forty feet wide. A branch might easily be carried to Lake Ontario; the fittest harbor would be, I believe, at Oswego." This entry is dated September 12, 1803. On his way up he mentions the fact of having spent a night in Schenectady. This must have been the evening when, as related by Simeon DeWitt, he talked of "*tapping Lake Erie*," as he expressed himself, and "leading its waters, in an artificial river, directly across the country to Hudson's River." (Canal Laws, vol. 1, p. 39.)

At Three-River Point, Mr. Morris saw that a *branch* might connect the grand canal with Lake Ontario and Oswego. But my principal object in introducing this extract was to show, that Mr. Morris was willing to conform to the face of the country, "making locks as the descent may require." This would indicate that he was not so wedded to an inclined plane as to have made it necessary to have left him off from a Commission that he had been at the head of until 1816.

Among the papers was found the draft of a letter to Henry Latrobe, Esq., dated April 25, 1810, informing him of the appointment of Commissioners and their proposed examinations. He says: "I hope the business may be effected in a proper manner, for it is, I believe, the most extensive theater for skill and industry which can be found on this globe. But I fear that our minds are not yet enlarged to the size of so great an object, and I am thoroughly persuaded that the attempt at, and still more the execution of, any little scheme, will probably prostrate, and certainly postpone, that which is alone worthy of notice."

In July, 1810, while performing his duty in exploring as Commissioner, Mr. Morris saw Mr. Ellicott at Batavia, and found him strongly in favor of the route near that place and by Allen's Creek to the Genesee River, and confident that a supply of water could be had for the summit level. Under the date of July 21, 1810, he enters the following in his Journal: "We cross the Tonawanda Creek this morning, and the view of it renders calculation unnecessary. Decidedly there is not water. At Van Deventer's, where we got breakfast, we met the representative of the county, who thinks there will be no difficulty in bringing a canal round the falls so as to use the water of Lake Erie. I am perfectly convinced that unless this can be done, every attempt at any useful navigation must fail."

After Mr. Morris was dead, great efforts were made by certain parties to show that when he wrote to Mr. Parish and talked to various persons in regard to ships sailing from London by the Hudson River to Lake Erie, he meant to have such ships go by Oswego through Lake Ontario, and then around the Falls of Niagara. His conversation with Mr. DeWitt, in 1803, out of which sprang the measures that led to the construction of the canal, appears to be a conclusive answer to such caviling; and I cannot see any reason to doubt the correctness of Governor Seward's declaration in his introduction to the Natural History of the State of New York (p. 86): "To Gouverneur Morris, history will assign the merit of first suggesting a direct and continuous communication from Lake Erie to the Hudson." Cadwallader D. Colden, in his elaborate Memoir, giving the history of the canal and of the celebration of its completion, takes ground (in the body of the work) against the claims of Mr. Morris to this credit; but in his *Errata et Corrigenda*, at the end of the volume, where few men have ever seen it, he has the following: "It is due to Mr. Morris to mention that since the Memoir was written the author has ascertained that when, in the year 1800, Mr. Morris suggested the practicability of enabling ships to sail from London into Lake Erie, and when in 1803, he spoke of "tapping Lake Erie," he undoubtedly contemplated a water communication directly from that lake to the Hudson, and did not, as the Memoir supposes he might have done, refer to a communication by the Niagara Canal and Lake Ontario." Much more proof of the position I have taken as to Mr. Morris' claim might be added, but I forbear, offering as an excuse for having given so much, that recently very groundless claims to this honor have been revived.

THE ERIE CANAL.

ITS ORIGIN, ITS RESOURCES AND ITS NECESSITY.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 3, 1868.

BY MERWIN S. HAWLEY.

OUR GRAND ERIE CANAL has been a prolific theme for statesmen and politicians, for orators and essayists, during more than half a century. The visions of wealth and greatness that would result from its construction, to our common country, and especially to our own State, which filled the mind of him who first published to the world the project of such a canal, have been eagerly adopted by those who became its advocates. The politician at the caucus, the legislator in the Capitol, and those occupying seats of authority, have been alike emulous of being regarded as its special champions.

Considerations of political economy, and of political and commercial supremacy, in all their various phases, have been urged and repeated in favor of its original construction, and of its subsequent enlargement; and of yet further enlarging and perfecting its capacity, as the increase of its business and the wealth of the country—foretold by its projector—have demonstrated to be necessary.

It was not so from the beginning.

The first promulgation of the project met with such derision that its author was deemed a visionary enthusiast, and the pub-

lication of the project was nearly strangled at its birth. The first successful movement in regard to it in the Legislature was treated in much the same manner; a few hundred dollars being appropriated to defray the expenses of exploring, by the affirmative votes of some who declared that they voted for the small amount because it could not do any harm and might be productive of some good. And when, after long delay and protracted opposition, and much of that opposition from the city which has derived a large share of its benefits, the Act of April 15, 1817, was passed by the Legislature, committing the State to the canal policy, the whole scheme narrowly escaped destruction in the Council of Revision.

Nor did opposition to the project disappear immediately after the State entered upon the momentous work; but the progress made by the judicious efforts of those charged with its management, and the far-seeing policy and self-denying labors of the chief executive officer of the State, gradually brought the scheme into general favor; and the story of the beginning, progress and completion of the canal, will perpetuate honors to the memory of Clinton, so long as the waters of Erie shall flow into that channel of commerce.

The celebration of the completion of the middle section, on the fourth of July, 1820, three years from the day of its commencement, was the culminating point where opposition ceased or was disarmed; and the resources of a united people were thenceforth devoted to the accomplishment of an enterprise which was expected greatly to increase the wealth and the happiness of all the people, and secure to the State, in all coming time, a high and controlling position in the trade and commerce of the North American continent.

But previous to this a disposition had been manifested to learn about the "Origin of the Canal," and who was its first projector, who had first proclaimed to the world the feasibility of such a project, had pointed out the route, had estimated the expense, had foretold the great and varied benefits that would

result from it, and had urged the importance of it upon the attention of the public.

Colonel Robert Troup, in the Geneva *Gazette* of December 15, 1819, writes:

"The successful progress of the Erie Canal and the immense benefits likely to arise from its completion, have lately excited a laudable curiosity to know who was the projector of the canal policy in this State. A just regard to the reputation of the State, seems to require that the projector should be favored with some decisive proof of public gratitude."

Colonel Troup, when writing in December, 1819, maintained with much confidence that Elkanah Watson was the projector; but as Mr. Watson, in 1820, disclaimed being the projector of the Erie Canal, claiming only that he projected the lake canal policy which produced the Act of March, 1792, chartering the "Western Inland Lock Navigation Company," Colonel Troup, in his letter of February 8, 1822, addressed to the Hon. Brockholst Livingston, to quote his own language, abstains "from bestowing on Mr. Watson any credit for that sublime effort of human intellect which projected the canal route to Lake Erie;" and he adds, "As this sublime effort is pregnant with incalculable benefits to the State, I bow with sentiments of profound respect and gratitude, to the man whose genius had the capacity to conceive and usher into public notice, the design of a work so stupendous."

Various claims were put forth to the honor of being the first to "suggest" such a project, or being the first who had "talked of it," and for the honor of being its first "projector;" and it is not surprising, perhaps, that some claims of this character were made, which are not well supported by the acts and promulgations of the person in whose behalf the claim is made.

Many distinguished names are entitled to lasting honors for the services they rendered during the incipient movements and the whole progress of construction; and to none more, than to those who so successfully performed the essential part of engineers.

In seeking for the facts on which the claim of being the "first projector" is to be sustained (if sustained at all), we necessarily look for what was said, or written, or done by the person; and his writings, or other promulgations, made known or recorded at the time of their occurrence, must be conclusive. And if any doubt exist in regard to his meaning, or as to what was in the mind of the person when making any particular expression, his subsequent writings on the same subject afford the best explanations of which they are susceptible. Especially will such evidences have a controlling influence in our minds when seeking for the truth, over statements made from memory only, after the decease of the person, and twenty or fifty years after the incident is stated to have occurred.

The paper which I had the honor to read before this Society on the twenty-first of February, 1866, briefly notes or indicates the principal facts necessary to a solution of the question, Who was the first projector of the canal, showing that in the year 1724, Cadwallader Colden suggested that there might be found a continuous inland water communication between the Oswego River and Lake Erie; that in 1797, General Philip Schuyler and an English engineer, William Weston, had "talked of" a water communication through the State to Lake Erie, keeping the interior, if it were practicable, which they doubted; showing also the facts and circumstances relied upon to sustain the claim made by friends of Gouverneur Morris, since his decease, that he was the "first projector;" also showing briefly the writings of Jesse Hawley on the subject, and the action of the Legislature on the motion of Joshua Forman.

The papers written by Jesse Hawley, and signed "Hercules," the first of which was published in Pittsburg, Penn., in the newspaper called the *Commonwealth*, on the fourteenth of January, 1807, and subsequently in the *Genesee Messenger*, at Canandaigua, in this State, beginning in October, 1807, and extending to fourteen numbers—some of which newspapers are now in the archives of this Society through the courtesy of the Hon.

T. T. Flagler, of Lockport—are the first publications of the project for this canal.

Those papers—after pointing out the feasibility of a canal on nearly the identical line now occupied by it, recommending its size to be one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep, estimating its cost with great accuracy, and in many ways urging public attention to its importance and the propriety of an actual survey—proceed to point out important improvements in other States, some of which have since been constructed; among which are the Ohio Canal, the Wabash Canal, the St. Marie Canal to open navigation into Lake Superior, the Fox and Wisconsin rivers connection, the Illinois and Michigan Canal, the canal around the falls of the Ohio River, etc.

Mr. Hawley originally "intended to deposit those papers in the archives of the office of the Secretary of State, in order to preserve the evidences of his claim to the first writings on the subject;" but they are, by his will, deposited with the Historical Society of the City of New York. He writes, "I claim the original and the first publication of the overland route of the Erie Canal."

Again Mr. Hawley writes in the *Daily Democrat* newspaper of Rochester, October 6, 1835, as follows:

"To the Public.—The purport of the following letters will sufficiently explain their object. While their originals are intended to be preserved, they are published at the present time to establish their authenticity hereafter, and also to give the present age an opportunity to rectify any supposed errors therein. In order to aid their circulation in this paper, extra copies will be sent to many public men and personal friends."

The letters which followed contained various evidences of the correctness of his claim, and closed in the *Daily Democrat* of October 10, 1835, with the following:

"To the Public.—I now reassert my claim to the original conception of the project of the overland route of the Erie Canal, * * * and also state that the imputations to the contrary, communicated to Dr. Hosack by some of his correspondents, were altogether inaccurate, and must have originated in forgetfulness or misapprehension. I do not wish to be under-

stood as saying that I was the first or the only person to *conceive* the idea. I merely mean to say that with me it was a *native thought*, without having been suggested or communicated to me by any person, and that I was the first person who wrote and published the project."

Colonel Troup, in his letter to Brockholst Livingston, of February 8, 1822, already referred to, says: "In October, 1807, Jesse Hawley commenced the publication in the *Ontario Messenger*, of a series of essays in favor of opening a canal to Lake Erie, which was the first public annunciation of the present system."

Governor DeWitt Clinton writes: "The first hint on this subject which I have seen in print was suggested by Jesse Hawley. * * * On the twenty-seventh of October, 1807, he commenced a series of essays on internal navigation, over the signature of 'Hercules,' in the *Ontario Messenger*, which extended to fourteen numbers." And Governor Clinton said to Judge Benjamin Wright, that the essays of 'Hercules,' in the *Ontario Messenger*, were the first suggestions, in a tangible shape, which he could find of the origin of the canal.

Elkanah Watson, writing in 1819, says: "I have not been able to trace any measure, public or private, tending towards this great enterprise (the Erie Canal), till the twenty-seventh of October, 1807, when an anonymous publication under the signature of 'Hercules' appeared in the *Genesee Messenger*, which is attributed to Jesse Hawley, Esq. These valuable essays continued through a course of fourteen weekly numbers, to March 2, 1808. They are evidently original, and they display deep research and views vastly extended—indeed, they may be pronounced prophetic, in striking out nearly the track of the route of the canal which has since been adopted."

Since the reading of the paper before this Society on the twenty-first of February, 1866, hereinbefore alluded to, exceptions to the claims of Jesse Hawley have been made by George Geddes, Esq., who, in a paper read before this Society on the fourth of February, 1867, claims that Gouverneur Morris

was the projector of the canal; and so confident is Mr. Geddes in the correctness of his theory, that he seems to think it presumptuous for any one to "claim the honor of first proposing the interior route, without having received the suggestion as coming from Mr. Morris;" and that objecting to the claim made in behalf of Mr. Morris is "caviling." He also says that "recently, very groundless claims to this honor have been revived."

The theory of Mr. Geddes is founded upon a letter from Governor Morgan Lewis to Hermanus Bleecker, dated May 26, 1828; the letter from Mr. Morris to John Parish, dated December 20, 1800; the letter from Simeon DeWitt to William Darby, dated February 25, 1822; the letter from James Geddes to William Darby, dated February 22, 1822; and the fact as stated, that "Mr. Morris was a projector; he had seen canals in Europe, etc."

The propositions of Mr. Geddes are ingeniously supported, and with as much consistency, apparently, as could be exercised, while omitting all reference to Mr. Morris' writings, except the one letter already alluded to; and he builds up the following quadrangular column: that Mr. Morris told Mr. DeWitt of the project in 1803; that DeWitt told it to James Geddes in 1804; that Mr. Geddes told it to Jesse Hawley in 1806, or, as Mr. Geddes afterwards states, in 1805; and says that James Geddes was so impressed with the statement he had heard from Mr. DeWitt, that he formed public opinion, until in 1807, Joshua Forman was elected to the Assembly as a "canal man;" and to support the claim that Mr. Forman's election as a "canal man" was based on the idea of a direct overland canal to Lake Erie, Mr. Geddes quotes from the *recollections* of Judge Strong, now eighty-five years old, of what occurred in 1804; from a letter written by Thomas Wheeler, in 1846, giving some of his recollections of occurrences in 1807; and some statements by Mr. Gillchres, giving his recollections of 1806. All these vague statements are from recollections of scenes

many years previous, and but faint allusion to an overland canal is made in any of them.

The promulgations of Mr. Morris do not sustain the claim that he was the projector of the Erie Canal. A correct interpretation of what he said and wrote fails to show that he had any conception of such a project until the year 1810; when, as one of the seven Commissioners appointed that year to make explorations, in a consultation of all the Commissioners at Rome, July 12, 1810, Mr. Morris expressed himself in favor of an overland canal. Mr. Geddes says, after relating this incident, "Though Mr. Morris had been considering the subject of a water communication from the great lakes to the Hudson ever since 1777 (thirty-three years), and had visited the canals of Europe, he had not arrived at any true conception of what the face of the country would permit of being done." And Mr. Morris writes to Mr. Henry Latrobe, April 25, 1810, advising of the appointment of those seven Commissioners, and adds: "I hope the business may be effected in a proper manner, * * * * but I fear our minds are not yet enlarged to the size of so great an object."

The Commissioners had with them in that tour of exploration the essays of Mr. Hawley, signed "Hercules;" a long letter from Joseph Ellicott, giving information of the country between the Niagara and Genesee rivers, with an explanatory map; and the report by James Geddes of his surveys in 1808, made in pursuance of the motion of Judge Forman; and it is probable that the thirty-three years' consideration of the subject by Mr. Morris enabled him to perceive the value of those documents, and thus prompted him to put himself on record in favor of an overland canal to Lake Erie.

An expression of Governor Seward, in the Introduction to his Natural History of New York, is quoted by Mr. Geddes and others, in support of the claim in behalf of Mr. Morris; but as Governor Seward takes a quotation from Mr. Morris' letter to John Parish, in December, 1800, as the ground of his opinion, he

adds no strength to the claim beyond that afforded by the letter.

Cadwallader D. Colden, in his Memoirs of the canal, gives a brief and impartial statement of the views deduced from Mr. Morris' letter to John Parish, and from Mr. DeWitt's letter to William Darby; and comes to the conclusion that Mr. Morris contemplated only the route by Lake Ontario, with a ship canal around Niagara Falls, as provided by the Act of 1798, incorporating the Niagara Company.

Under an "Errata" on a fly-leaf at the end of the volume, Mr. Colden says: "It is due to Mr. Morris to mention that *since the Memoir was written*, the author has ascertained that when, in the year 1800, Mr. Morris suggested the practicability of enabling ships to sail from London into Lake Erie, and when, in 1803, he spoke of 'tapping Lake Erie,' he undoubtedly contemplated a water communication directly from that lake to the Hudson."

Mr. Colden probably received this information from some person interested; and the kindness of his heart prompting him to honor the memory of his departed friend, he affixed the above paragraph to a fly-leaf, apparently after a portion of the edition had been printed. He could not have derived the information from Mr. Morris' writings, as we shall presently see.

Dr. Hosack, who investigated this subject more thoroughly than any other writer, gives it as his opinion that it is "questionable how far Mr. Morris (notwithstanding his conversation with Simeon DeWitt in 1803) had, prior to 1810, when he was appointed one of the Canal Commissioners, seriously contemplated any other communication between the Hudson and Lake Erie, than the route by Oswego and Lake Ontario."

Dr. Hosack expresses some disappointment that the family of his old friend, Mr. Morris, did not furnish him, on his application, the "documents" to sustain the views that had been imputed to him.

Mr. Morris was a man of rare qualities. He held several important and honorable public positions, and his liberal edu-

cation derived improvement from his extensive travels. He is said to have been a "projector." He had the superintendence of a large tobacco business in Virginia, in connection with Robert Morris (who was not a family relative); and some dealings with French traders, which he had "projected," gave him occasion to go to France in December, 1788, to institute legal proceedings there to enforce payments.

While in France, Mr. Morris projected a sale of twenty thousand barrels of flour to the French Government, which resulted in loss. He also projected, in connection with some capitalists in Holland, extensive speculations in the United States securities, which the French Minister of Finance was desirous to realize upon, as the troublesome times of the French Revolution began to be felt. A very important part of his business, also, was to find purchasers for some wild lands belonging to himself, Robert Morris and others, lying mostly in the State of New York, in the County of St. Lawrence.

Mr. Morris and M. Leray de Chaumont having realized, by loans from M. Necker, thirty-eight thousand dollars on their bonds secured by lands in this country, which investment M. Necker seems to have made for the benefit of his daughter, Madame de Stael, she prevailed upon her father to appropriate twenty thousand dollars for the purchase of lands in America for herself direct; in pursuance of which, a purchase of twenty-three thousand acres was made in St. Lawrence County, New York, under the direction of M. Necker, by M. Leray, with the advice of Mr. Morris, who was consulted as being a friend to the parties, and, owning lands in the same vicinity, was well acquainted with their value.

Mr. Morris returned from Europe in December, 1798. In the summer of 1800 he made the journey which he so glowingly described in his letter to John Parish, dated at the City of Washington, December 20, 1800, which has already been alluded to. In that letter he says: "In July last I left home to visit some property of my own, and some which was con-

fided to my care by others, in the northern part of the State of New York. I went by way of Albany and the lakes George and Champlain, to Montreal." From Montreal "we took boat and went up the St. Lawrence to Lake Ontario, and along the south side of that lake to Niagara; thence by land to Lake Erie, and so back again." After one day's repose at Niagara, we went to view the Falls; * * * from the Falls towards Lake Erie, along the bank of Niagara River, * * * we proceed to Fort Erie." "Here * * * I saw riding at anchor nine vessels, the least of them one hundred tons. * * * Does it not seem like magic? * * * Hundreds of large ships will in no distant period bound on the billows of those inland seas. At this point commences a navigation of more than a thousand miles. Shall I lead your astonishment to the verge of incredulity? I will. Know, then, that one-tenth of the expense borne by Britain in the last campaign, would enable ships to sail from London, through Hudson's River, into Lake Erie." Writing of taxes and finance, in the same letter, Mr. Morris says, "In 1760, there was not, perhaps, ten thousand dollars of specie in this country. At present, the banks of Philadelphia alone have above ten millions to dispose of, beyond the demand."

We will hope that those banks are relatively as rich in specie funds at the present time.

The expressions here quoted, particularly that relating to ships sailing through Hudson River into Lake Erie, have been treated as the *sure foundation* of a claim to his being the projector of the Erie Canal, although he was well aware of the existence and operations of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, for improving the navigation between Schenectady and Oswego by the Mohawk River and Oneida Lake and River; and he was, of course, well advised of the legislative action two years previously, incorporating the "Niagara Company," for the purpose of constructing a ship canal around Niagara Falls.

The truth is, as we will soon see, that Mr. Morris could not have had in his mind, when writing those expressions, any other route to Lake Erie than the one by Lake Ontario and Niagara River; for his own subsequent writings on the subject, which are clear and unambiguous, are the best explanations of any ambiguity in the expressions just quoted.

But first let us look at one or two other incidents that are claimed as furnishing supporting evidence to the theory that Mr. Morris meant the *Erie* Canal.

The first is of an earlier date, which is a letter written by Governor Morgan Lewis to Hermanus Bleecker, dated May 26, 1828, written in reply to a letter from Mr. Bleecker asking him to write out his recollections of some remarks made by Mr. Morris, when at General Schuyler's headquarters at Fort Edward, in 1777.

Governor Lewis writes, that Mr. Morris was sanguine of our success in the war, "and spoke in animated terms of the rapid march of the useful arts through our country, when once freed from a foreign yoke. One evening he announced in language highly poetic, that at no very distant day the waters of the great western inland seas would, by the aid of man, break through their barriers and mingle with those of the Hudson."

Governor Lewis was seventy-four years old when he wrote that letter, giving his recollections of the language used by Mr. Morris fifty-one years previously; and when we call to mind the ardor of feelings that would naturally arise in the mind of a youthful officer in the army on receiving a visit from his friend and classmate—and that at the time of writing, the canal, unthought of in those earlier days, was in the full tide of success and popularity—and that Governor Lewis writes entirely from recollections, and does not pretend to quote a word as being Mr. Morris' language—we will necessarily make some allowance for his interest in behalf of his early friend, and give such weight to the statements, as, in connection with other evidences, they shall seem entitled to.

Another incident, stated from memory and second-handed, some thirty years after it is said to have occurred, has been related to support the claim in behalf of Mr. Morris. It is said to have been communicated by S. DeWitt Bloodgood as obtained from Mr. K. K. Van Rensselaer. It is, that at a dinner party in Washington, soon after the date of Morris' letter to John Parish, the locality of the seat of government was discussed, and Newburg, on the Hudson River, was suggested as a proper place.

Mr. Morris said, "Yes, this would have been the place, and the members of Congress could have come from all parts by water." "Come by water!" exclaimed the company, "but how?" "By tapping Lake Erie and bringing its waters to the Hudson." "How could you bring them?" "By an inclined plane." "But that would be too expensive." "Well, then," said he, "there is a water-table which can be found."

This story is probably from the lively imagination of some ardent friend of Mr. Morris,—and its invalidity, so far as furnishing evidence of Mr. Morris' being the projector of the Erie Canal,—and the invalidity of the views drawn from the letter of Morgan Lewis—as well as the great mistake made, and often repeated, in claiming that in his letter to John Parish, from which extracts have been made, Mr. Morris foretold the *Erie* Canal,—are all conclusively shown by Mr. Morris himself, in his letter to General Henry Lee, dated January 22, 1801. General Lee had written to Mr. Morris, on the sixteenth of January, asking him to write out fully his views in regard to improvements of the country by additional water communications; and Mr. Morris, after gracefully acknowledging the receipt of the letter, says: "I will sketch out to you a general idea of what has occurred to my observation and reflection respecting the commerce of our interior country, the political consequences which may result from it, and the means we possess of rendering that commerce and those consequences favorable to our Government and propitious to our future pros-

perity." And he proceeds to show the natural outlet to the ocean by the Mississippi and St. Lawrence rivers; the political and commercial importance to the country of improvements in the interior, and says:

"If we improve the means held out to us by the beneficent hand of Nature, we may obtain for ourselves all the advantages now enjoyed by foreign and rival powers. Nay, we may procure for our mercantile fellow-citizens much greater advantages. * * * The navigation between the Hudson and Lake Ontario, by the Mohawk and Wood Creek, has been feebly and faintly attempted by a private company. * * * In my opinion, nothing short of the conveyance of a vessel of one hundred tons * * * is worthy of public attention. * * * But you will ask me if this be possible. I answer, that as far as I can judge from observation and information, it is not only practicable, but easy, though expensive To show this I need only say that Lake Ontario is considerably higher than the Hudson; that the shores of that lake, and the river flowing out of it, are not high; that it furnishes an immense but equable stream of water, and that no mountains intervene. An inclined plane may, I believe, be found from the Ontario to the Hudson, but to Lake Champlain it most certainly exists."

This letter is unambiguous, and shows what were the views of the writer. It was written several weeks after the date of the letter to John Parish from which our previous quotations were made, and it is, in itself, evidence that the writer of it had no definite conception of the interior overland route to Lake Erie.

Mr. Morris wielded the pen of a ready writer; his mind was clear and comprehensive, and he would never have written that letter and omitted saying in it any word about a direct canal through the interior to Lake Erie, if he had had any conception in his mind of the feasibility of such a project.

Here, in all probability, is to be seen the reason why the family of Mr. Morris declined to give Dr. Hosack access to his writings, that the documents relating to a canal might all be published in his "Memoirs."

Mr. Morris was desirous of having a water communication opened that would give access to the eastern markets, from his

lands and those of his friend Madame de Stael, lying in St. Lawrence County, without encountering the tedious journey by land, through the new and unopened country that lay between them and the tide-waters, as his letter to General Lee clearly shows; and his subsequent acts and writings in regard to improvements in the interior, are directed to this end.

In September, 1803, he made a journey, by way of the Mohawk River, and Oneida and Ontario lakes, to St. Lawrence County, to see his lands there. Stopping over night in Schenectady, on his way up, he had an interview in his hotel, with Simeon DeWitt, who was Surveyor-General of the State; and, as Mr. Morris was interested in procuring some improvements that would be beneficial to his lands,—and as the novel project of locking up and around the Falls of Niagara had recently been authorized by the Legislature,—and as neither the Western Inland Navigation Company, nor the Northern Inland Lock Navigation Company (the latter designed for opening communication between the northern section of Hudson River and Lake Champlain), were affording facilities for business to the extent that had been expected of them,—the conversation of the two gentlemen naturally turned upon improving the means of intercourse with the interior. No records are furnished us of what they said; and as the conversation was of that free and informal kind by which they pleasantly whiled away the evening, it is not probable that either of them made any notes of what was said, or expected ever to have occasion to refer to it again.

In 1822, however, the Erie Canal had not only been *projected*, but after hard struggles, it was nearly completed, and was very popular thoughout the State and elsewhere; and Mr. DeWitt, in a letter, dated February 25, 1822, to William Darby, who had requested materials to be introduced into the Encyclopedia, writes as follows, among other things:

"A considerable discussion * * * has appeared in print about the origin of the Erie Canal, with the view of ascertaining who is most en-

titled to the honor of it. * * * The merit of first starting the idea of a direct communication by water between Lake Erie and Hudson's River, unquestionably belongs to Mr. Gouverneur Morris. The first suggestion I had of it was from him. In 1803, I accidentally met with him at Schenectady. We put up for the night at the same inn, and passed the evening together. Among the numerous topics of conversation to which his prolific mind and excursive imagination gave birth, was that of improving the means of intercourse with the interior of our State. He then mentioned the project of tapping Lake Erie, as he expressed himself, and leading its waters in an artificial river directly across the country to Hudson's River. * * * Considering this as a romantic thing and characteristic of the man, I related it on several occasions. Mr. Geddes now reminds me that I mentioned it to him in 1804, when he was here as a member of the Legislature; and adds, that afterwards, when in company with Jesse Hawley, it became a subject of conversation which probably led to inquiries that induced Mr. Hawley to write the essays which afterwards appeared in newspapers, on the subject of carrying the canal from Lake Erie to Albany, through the interior of the country, without going by the way of Lake Ontario."

After relating the action of the Legislature on the motion of Judge Forman in 1808, directing surveys to be made, Mr. DeWitt continues, and says, he "commissioned James Geddes to make the surveys, and instructed him to survey two different routes for a canal from Oneida Lake to Lake Ontario; one by way of Oswego River, and one by Salmon River, which runs into Lake Ontario some distance east of Oswego (in the town of Mexico.)" Mr. Geddes was instructed next to level around the Niagara Falls, and ascertain the best line for a canal from above the Falls to Lewiston; and Mr. DeWitt says in the letter, "I had received such information from Mr. Joseph Ellicott * * * as satisfied me that a canal was practicable from the Niagara to the Genesee River;" hence, Mr. Geddes was instructed that he need not make surveys in that section.

This letter of Mr. DeWitt was written about nineteen years after that interview with Mr. Morris in Schenectady, entirely from memory; and it does not pretend to quote from Mr. Morris a single word, but it italicises the words *tapping Lake Erie;* and during the interval of time, very much had been said and written, by many persons, in regard to canals.

That Mr. DeWitt labored under forgetfulness or misapprehension, or else drew upon his imagination, when writing that letter and stating that Mr. Morris spoke of "tapping Lake Erie, and leading its waters directly across the country to the Hudson; and that he is unquestionably entitled to the merit of first starting the idea of such a canal," will appear by our following Mr. Morris a little further on that journey. At Rome he had a conversation with Charles C. Broadhead, an engineer, on the subject of Canals; and, as Mr. Broadhead says, "Mr. Morris inquired very particularly as to the situation and soil of the land along the Oneida Lake and the banks of the Oneida and Oswego rivers, and the country lying between the Oneida and Ontario lakes;" and Mr. Broadhead continues, "if I mistake not, he spoke of the waters of the Salmon River and Bruce's Creek: the former empties into Lake Ontario, and the latter into Oneida Lake. * * * It is my impression that Lake Erie was not mentioned in this conversation. After answering Mr. Morris' inquiries as far as I was able, he declared he would give five hundred dollars to be a member of the Legislature that year, that he might get a law passed for a canal from the Hudson River, and I think I cannot be mistaken when I say,—to Lake Ontario."

Mr. Morris here shows the same interest for improvements to communicate with his lands in St. Lawrence County, that was indicated in his letter to General Lee, two years previously; and in that interview with Mr. Broadhead is not manifested any conception of an idea of a canal through the interior to Lake Erie, as Mr. DeWitt, nineteen years afterward, imagined he had done at Schenectady.

A little further on his journey, at Three-River Point, the same views are unmistakably indicated by Mr. Morris' writing in his diary, September 12, 1803 (for Mr. Morris kept a diary many years.) Of a canal he writes: "It should be taken from the head of Onondaga River and carried on the level as far east as it will go, and, if practicable, into the Mohawk River.

* * * This canal, I think, should be five feet deep and forty-five feet wide. A branch might easily be carried to Lake Ontario." Not a word was written about Lake Erie, nor about a canal of any kind to any place west of Onondaga River; and it is not to be supposed that, considering the fluency with which Mr. Morris wrote, he would have omitted any allusion to an overland canal to Lake Erie, if he had had any conception of one in his mind.

Thus we see that the ambiguity in Mr. Morris' letter to John Parish, and the vague and romantic recollections of Mr. DeWitt given in his letter to William Darby, *cannot be reconciled* with Mr. Morris' letters, his diary, and his actions, and with his conversation with Mr. Broadhead, except on the theory that he meant, as he wrote, a water communication from Lake Ontario to the Hudson River; and to this view *all* his writings and actions point with entire harmony. If he used the expression, "tapping Lake Erie," in his conversation with Mr. DeWitt, he, of course, referred to the project for a canal around Niagara Falls.

James Geddes, in a letter to William Darby, of February 22, 1822, says: "In the winter of 1804, I learned, for the first time, from the Surveyor-General, that Gouverneur Morris, in a conversation between them the preceding autumn, mentioned the scheme of a canal from Lake Erie across the country to the Hudson River;" and that it made a great "impression" on his mind.

This letter is written *from memory*, eighteen years after the incident is stated to have occurred; and the misapprehension under which it was written is seen in the fact, as herein shown, that Mr. Morris *could not* have mentioned the scheme of a canal from Lake Erie across the country; but that in 1803 he was devising a plan for a canal from Onondaga River to the Mohawk, and also down to Lake Ontario: a scheme which, in the isolated condition of Onondaga County at that time, was well calculated to excite the attention of her people.

Judge Geddes was, in 1804, a member of the Legislature; Mr.

DeWitt was Surveyor-General of the State, and Mr. Morris had held several high official stations. All of them were public men, and *public spirited* men; and it is not probable that they all would have omitted or neglected the opportunity to bring the scheme before the public, if they had been "impressed" with the importance of such a work as a canal through the interior from Lake Erie, or had entertained any conception of the feasibility of such a project.

Thus we see that the *basis* on which the claim is founded, that Mr. Morris was the projector of the Erie Canal, proves to be unsound; and, of course, the structure built upon it must fall. If Mr. Morris were now living, it is probable that his honorable impulses would constrain him to announce, as did Elkanah Watson, that he designed canaling between the Hudson River and Lake Ontario, and around Niagara Falls; and did *not* contemplate a direct canal through the country to Lake Erie.

Judge Geddes and Jesse Hawley, in their letters to Dr. Hosack, in 1828 (each one writing without the knowledge of the other), agree in regard to the *time* of their interview in Geneva, that it was "in the winter of 1806," "the winter before he wrote his essays;" and it is written, that the testimony of two men is true. But Judge Geddes claims to have "perfect recollection of informing Mr. Hawley of the project," and has "no doubt but that I informed him the idea came from Mr. Morris." And Mr. Hawley writes: "I do not recollect that any mention was made of the canal when we met in Geneva. If there was, I presume that I first spoke of it. * * * I afterwards saw Mr. Geddes at his house in Onondaga, in 1811; when we conversed on the subject, I believe, for the first time." And, in 1835, Mr. Hawley writes: "With me, it was a native thought —without having been suggested or communicated to me by any person." When Judge Geddes wrote that letter to Dr. Hosack, he knew he was writing for history, and would be more likely to be correct in his dates than when writing a newspaper paragraph in 1835, in which he says his visit to Geneva was in

1805, instead of 1806. But, as we have seen, his impression that he communicated the idea of the Erie Canal, must be confounded with the interest which he and others naturally took in the project of a local canal, which Mr. Morris indicated in his diary.

The paper read by George Geddes, Esq., maintains that Judge Geddes was so deeply impressed with the idea of a direct overland route for a canal—as coming from Mr. Morris—that he did not rest, but formed public opinion until 1807, when Judge Forman was elected to the Legislature as a "Canal man," "on the question of a canal across the country, not by Lake Ontario;" and says Judge Forman was an eminent lawyer and an accomplished scholar, and his grace of person and manner gave him much influence with his associates. He was President of the Village of Syracuse, in 1825.

This accomplished gentleman, on whom the argument of Mr. Geddes centers, wrote to Dr. Hosack on the subject of the Erie Canal, October 13, 1828; from which letter I quote as follows:

"On taking my seat as member of Assembly for the County of Onondaga, at the session of 1807–8, my bookseller handed me several copies of 'Rees' Cyclopedia,' to which I was a subscriber. I had early been acquainted with the projected works of the Inland Lock Navigation Company, from the Hudson River to Lake Ontario, and had seen in the Statute-book an Act to incorporate a Company to lock up the Niagara Falls from Lake Ontario to Lake Erie. In reading at my leisure in the article 'Canal,' an account of the numerous canals and improved river navigation in England, I soon discovered the relative importance of the former over the latter. Applying this to our interior, I perceived how much more the country would be benefitted by a canal than by the works contemplated, and * * * it occurred to me that if a canal was ever made to open a communication from the Hudson to the western lakes, it would be worth more than all the extra cost to go directly through the country to Lake Erie. * * * Sitting with Judge Wright and General McNiel, my room-mates, I broached the subject to them. At first, Judge Wright objected that it would be folly to make a canal one hundred and fifty miles abreast of a good sloop navigation in Lake Ontario. * * * The subject was freely discussed.

Judge Wright gave in to the plan, and it was agreed by all that the project was of immense importance, and that measures ought to be taken to ascertain its practicability. I drew up the resolution, which Judge Wright agreed to second."

From that resolution sprung the legislative action under which the first surveys were made, by Judge Geddes, in 1808.

Judge Forman does not write as if he had been "elected to the Assembly as a canal man, on the question of a canal across the country, *not* by Lake Ontario;" but entirely inconsistently with such an idea. In his argument in support of the motion which he introduced, he pointed out nearly the same route for a canal as had been delineated in the first number of the "Hercules" papers by Mr. Hawley, published in Pittsburg; and in the second number, published in Canandaigua. Judge Forman continues:

"I conversed frequently, during the season, with Judge Geddes, and explained to him my views on the subject of the interior route. * * * * I should have been satisfied, so far as I am concerned, had not the Surveyor-General, in a letter to William Darby, given a new turn to the investigation, * * * giving an impression that my resolution had grown out of that suggestion of Gouverneur Morris. * * * Mr. Morris had traveled, and seen canals in other countries, and no doubt had bright visions of the future improvements of this country, * * * but it was nowise probable that he viewed them as works to be accomplished in his day, or, as a patriot, he would have proposed the subject to the Legislature. * * * His suggestions * * * had no more effect in producing the canal, than the ancient poet's song of the 'Fortunate Islands beyond the Atlantic Ocean' had in producing the discovery of America."

The resolution introduced into the Assembly by Judge Forman, in 1808, resulted in directing the Surveyor-General to cause a "survey to be made of the rivers, streams and waters in the usual route of communication between the Hudson River and Lake Erie, and such other contemplated route as he may deem proper;" thus leaving the whole matter very much in his discretion: and that Mr. DeWitt was not, at this time, very much impressed with such views as he writes, in 1822, had been communicated to him by Mr. Morris in 1803, is seen by

his instructions in regard to making that survey, given to James Geddes, under date of June 11, 1808, already stated; which read as if he exercised the discretion given him to promote the object which Mr. Morris had in view in his journey by way of Oswego, in 1803, to his lands in St. Lawrence County; for the first thing he instructed Mr. Geddes to do was, to look for the best place for a canal from Oneida Lake to Lake Ontario, in the town of Mexico. And Judge Geddes is not so much impressed in behalf of an interior route to Lake Erie, as to offer any remonstrance against expending the time and the money appropriated for those surveys, almost exclusively upon the Ontario route.

And that Mr. DeWitt labored under some forgetfulness or misapprehension in regard to this matter, is conclusively shown by an incongruity he perpetrates in his instructions to Judge Geddes, in 1808, and in his letter to Mr. Darby, in 1822; stating in the first, that, "As Joseph Ellicott *has* given me a description of the country from Tonnewanta Creek to the Genesee River, * * * it is important to have exploration continued to Seneca River. No leveling or survey of it will be necessary for the present; * * * a view of the ground only, with such information as may be obtained from others, is all that can now be required of you." And in the letter to Mr. Darby he says, "I *had* received such information from Joseph Ellicott, etc."

That information and description of the country was sent to Mr. DeWitt several weeks after his instructions were issued to Mr. Geddes, which was the eleventh day of June, 1808; and Mr. Ellicott's communication of that valuable information is dated Batavia, July 30, 1808, and begins by acknowledging the receipt of Mr. DeWitt's letter of June 13, 1808, in which Mr. DeWitt asks for the information, which Mr. Ellicott then proceeds to give.

The Legislature of 1810 appointed Gouverneur Morris, DeWitt Clinton, and five others, a Board of Commissioners "for exploring the whole route for inland navigation from Hudson's

River to Lake Ontario and Lake Erie." That Board of Commissioners entered upon their duties on the first day of July following, having with them the writings of Jesse Hawley on the subject of a canal, and other valuable documents, as we have seen; and Mr. Morris, while on that tour of exploration, on the twelfth of July, 1810, put himself on record, *for the first time*, in favor of a direct overland canal to Lake Erie.

What followed, in the complex and protracted preliminaries, in the beginning, the progress and completion of that gigantic work, has been delineated before this Society on previous occasions.

We have seen that the canal *was* "projected;" and while we cannot claim for any person that he was the first or only one who "conceived" the idea, yet, that the views promulgated in the "Hercules" papers by Jesse Hawley, in 1807, were original, native thoughts with him, and the first publication of such a project, is too well established to need further elucidation.

After many delays and much anxiety in behalf of the canal, the State finally entered upon the work of its construction on the fourth of July, 1817; and its completion on the twenty-sixth of October, 1825, was announced by such a *feu de joie* as had not been previously known in any age; and we are witnesses to-day, that the predictions of its effects upon our country and people, made by its earliest advocates, have been more than realized.

To recount its influence in attracting the husbandman from all parts of the world, to cultivate the rich, unbroken soil of the vast country west of us,—in inviting the mechanic and enterprizing trader, the men of science and the political economists, to occupy that broad domain, and organize States, build up towns and cities, and extend the blessings of civilization,—would be only repeating what has many times been said.

To narrate the growth and extent of the material and social prosperity that is traceable directly to the Erie Canal, would tax the capacity of man to appreciate them. Not a State in what we call the West, nor one of the many opulent cities in

that region, but owes its organic existence or its prosperity to the influence of that great work.

In 1825, the cities of St. Louis and Cincinnati would have smiled derisively upon any proposition that within the ensuing generation they would be eclipsed by a city on the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan, which then had no existence. The cities of Chicago, Milwaukee, Toledo and others, may be said to have been born of the canal.

Our own city, with its broad and extensive avenues, its humane and benevolent institutions, its gorgeous buildings, its wealth and population, and, above all, its magnificent ships and extensive commerce, is a proud witness of the propriety of the undertaking, and of the success which has followed it. The first wheat brought to this port—two thousand five hundred bushels, in 1828—found no market here; the trade which the canal inspired had not then been put into action. The arrivals of grain and flour in a single year, recently, have been equal to nearly seventy-three million bushels.

The tolls paid to the State on property shipped on the canal from this port in any one year as late as 1840, scarcely exceeded three hundred thousand dollars. They have since exceeded three million dollars in a single year.

The benefits resulting from the canal have been felt and enjoyed in every county and town throughout the State; the increase in the value of all real property being in the aggregate many times greater than the cost of its construction.

The City of New York, in whose growth and prosperity we take a just pride, has derived from this canal greater benefits, perhaps, than any other city. Her population, in 1820, being about one hundred and twenty thousand, and at the present time over one million,—the value of her real and personal property, as recently as 1845, reported at about two hundred and forty million dollars, and at the present time over one billion dollars—the magnitude of her trade and commerce, her imports and exports in the year 1867, aggregating over five hundred and

sixteen million dollars,—her supremacy over every other seaboard city—all attest that to her the canal has been, and *now is*, "a river of gold flowing into her lap."

It is not the *locality*, merely, of the City of New York, that has secured to her such prosperity and enabled her to absorb the growing business of other cities, and make them pay tribute to her. Other seaboard cities north and south of her, have spacious harbors, and are as accessible to all the interior country by railroads as New York; but they have no Erie Canal tributary to them. As the canal has been the source of her prosperity in years past, so it is the main reliance for her continued enjoyment of this high position in the years to come.

No city can long maintain the controlling position she occupies in regard to the foreign commerce of the country, without the supplies steadily and certainly furnished by this *interior* and never-failing source.

The financial success of the canal is without a parallel in the history of similar enterprises. Besides the great increase of material wealth it has brought to all parts of the State, its own account of receipts and expenditures, including its construction, repairs, enlargement and improvements, with interest to September 30, 1866, as reported by the Auditor of the Canal Department, shows a cash balance to its credit, of about forty-one and one-half millions of dollars.

The State canal debt, which has sometimes been urged as a formidable objection to any further outlay upon canals, is the offspring of a laudable desire to promote the local as well as the general interests of the State, that has prevailed in the administration of State affairs; and which led to the construction of various local canals, none of which have been financially successful, though of great and lasting benefit to the people of their immediate locality; and the canal debt now resting upon the State is the result of the construction of those canals, the benefits of which pertain to the particular localities; and those localities might reasonably be expected to be foremost in

a movement to pay off that debt by a general and equal tax upon all the property of the State, rather than to allow the debt to be an impediment in the way of further improving and perfecting the capacity of the Erie Canal, to the extent of enabling it to do all the business that may be offered to it, and at such moderate charges that no other route shall be able to compete with it.

Since the original construction of the canal, its prism has been enlarged and its capacity greatly improved. The tonnage of boats navigating it was originally from thirty-five to forty tons; now, boats of two hundred and fifty tons make their voyage through its waters; but yet, its size is not that of one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep, as was recommended in the essays of "Hercules." Such a canal, with locks of corresponding dimensions, if constructed without delay, would put to rest all questions of its utility or supremacy.

The great and rapid increase of the business of the country, springing directly from the construction of the canal, brought into existence numerous railroad enterprises; and there are now as many as five or six through lines of railroads engaged to the extent of their capacity in this inland commerce; and yet, so great has been the increase in the productions of the country, that, with all the increase of facilities for transportation, they are not sufficient to meet the demand upon them; and in the clamor for additional facilities and greater speed, we occasionally hear of more railroads being projected, and see the canal partially overlooked or entirely ignored.

As a people, we are "faster" than were those of fifty years ago. We think and move faster than they; we transact more business, and amass greater wealth, and are impatient of restraint or delays; but let us not overlook the fact that it would be physically impossible to transact the business of this vast interior commerce by railroads. The electric telegraph will flash our commercial messages instantaneously from San Francisco to New York, but it cannot transport one bushel of wheat.

The fleetest horses of Arabia could not be made the beasts of burden to perform a heavy carrying trade. Neither can the railroads, though adapted to the speedy transportation of persons and much of the merchandise and products of the country, perform the heavy freighting business between the West and the East. The main reliance is upon our canal; and we read with some surprise an editorial in so well-informed a newspaper as the New York *Times*, in July last, opposing further appropriations to the canals, and saying: "Water transportation of every kind is rapidly losing its influence in our trade with the interior. * * * The day of the canals has gone by—they have accomplished their work, and can now be relieved by the superior system of transportation,"—the railroads.

We might suppose the editor had been romancing, and expect he would next write (after a pleasant moonlight drive through Central Park), that the *sun* is an old played-out institution; that its heats have become too oppressive, and we can well dispense with it. The moon is more pleasant, and the comforts it supplies are an improvement upon the old system.

The sun is scarcely more necessary to supply those essential elements of our existence and welfare, reflected by the moon, than is the canal to sustain the commercial supremacy of New York, as well as the prosperity of the railroads engaged with it in carrying on this commerce.

If it were possible for the City of Boston to become the outlet of this canal, and secure the constant flow of its stream of supplies into her own lap, instead of enriching New York, she would soon reinstate the Cunard steamships at her wharves, and would not feel a necessity for inviting her neighboring merchants to meet her in convention, and devise the ways and means for checking the decline of her commercial influence and relative position.

This interior commerce, which enriches all who manage it, is too great a prize to escape the efforts of opposing and com-

peting interests to draw it to other channels; and we see capital and enterprise employed, with such well-directed energy as merits success, to divide this traffic with New York, and appropriate a part of the golden stream to other and foreign cities. The projected improvements for business on the Mississippi River, by means of barges and of elevators at New Orleans, it is claimed, will draw to that channel a large volume of the property that has heretofore sought an eastern market by way of this canal, and thus enrich the shipping interests on that river and the City of New Orleans, at our expense.

Our neighbors of the Dominion of Ontario were early alive to the importance of securing a portion of this growing commerce; and they constructed the Welland Canal, which has for many years diverted no inconsiderable share of this flowing wealth to a foreign channel, and their efforts to this end have not abated. They have constructed extensive lines of railroads, improved the navigation of their rivers, and projected other works of yet greater importance, as connected with this commerce. If they shall construct the Georgian Bay and Toronto Canal, and make the Ottowa River Improvement to Montreal (especially the latter), before our canal is perfected by enlarging its locks and securing a greater depth of water, they will succeed in diverting a larger amount of our legitimate traffic than we can afford to lose. A small portion, only, of shipments on Lake Ontario, find their way to New York; and shipments by the Ottawa River route must, of necessity, pay their tribute to the cities of Montreal and Quebec.

One of the leading objects in view, with all those men who early advocated the improvement of water communication between the interior and tide-water, was to secure this commerce to our own people, and build up our own cities with the products of our enterprise and capital, rather than allow it to be appropriated by our foreign neighbors. These views were deeply impressed upon the mind of that good and loyal Briton, Cadwallader Colden, as early as the year 1724, and they were

repeated by Sir Henry Moore, General Washington, George Clinton, and every other writer in favor of internal improvements, down to the time of our canal.

We are now in the enjoyment of the high position which the construction of the canal was expected to confer upon us; and the benefits it bestows on other States, and upon the nation at large, justly entitle New York to the appellation of the "Empire State." It has been said, by good authority, that the struggle we recently encountered with armed rebellion could not have been successfully carried on but for the sinews of war,—the wealth derived from the productions of the country, through the facilities which this canal afforded.

If we have not secured, to the full extent, the advantages which the canal might yield to us, it behooves us to look for the cause, and apply the remedy. If any portion of this inheritance is in danger of being wrested from our hands by competing interests, we, as wise men possessed of the ability to preserve it, will not fail to counteract such efforts, by the legitimate means at our command. Such danger is not to be encountered by the competition of the railroads. The interests of these roads and of the canal are reciprocal. The roads would not have come into existence but for the stimulus given by the canal; and now, both of the systems are to a large extent dependent upon each other. It is the competition which may arise from other water routes of transit, that may prejudice or put in jeopardy the interests centered in our canal; and towards this should our counteracting efforts be directed.

Such improvements of the canal as will secure to it a steady supply of water to the greatest depth admissible, an enlargement of its locks to a corresponding extent, with a schedule of tolls as low as would suffice to pay the interest on the cost of the improvements, and an economical administration of its affairs, would enable the canal to neutralize all competition, and secure its supremacy over the commerce of the northern States. Whatever be the necessary expense, the importance

of such improvement demands immediate attention. A large debt resting upon the State, incurred in the progress of its internal improvement policy, is put forth as a reason for withholding further appropriations for canals. But that argument cannot apply to this canal, which, as we have seen, is rich in funds, to the extent of many millions of dollars.

It has also been gravely urged in the Constitutional Convention, by a member from the City of New York, that the State should *sell the canal!* Not because it has not accomplished all that was predicted for it,—not for any financial delinquency,—but because, as stated, it is impossible to secure an honest administration of its affairs! The *philosopher* who urged this proposition, doubtless predicated his argument on the doctrine of total depravity; and he should have followed his logic to its legitimate conclusion, and proposed that the Convention be dissolved,—because constitutions and laws are worthless, it being impossible to secure an honest administration of them!

We cannot afford to allow the supremacy of the canal to be put in jeopardy. A due regard to the future welfare of our own city will not permit it,—the agricultural interests of our State, to its remotest corners, cannot afford the risk,—the City of New York, least of all, can afford thus to jeopardize its commanding position. Our railroads themselves cannot afford to lose the impetus they receive from this controlling source. Better that the present debt and the expense of further improvements be paid by a tax on all the property of the State, and the tolls placed at the lowest rate consistent with the necessary current expenditures, than suffer a diminution of the golden stream.

We are not such degenerate sons of our fathers that we are unable to appreciate and preserve this rich heritage,—the result of their wisdom and enterprise,—and we *must* carry out to perfection that which they so auspiciously began, and in which they achieved such signal success; and thus secure to our successors the benefits that will follow, and to our State the high distinction she has earned, through all coming time.

THE ERIE CANAL.

ITS ORIGIN CONSIDERED IN REFERENCE TO GOUVERNEUR MORRIS, JOSHUA FORMAN, JAMES GEDDES AND JESSE HAWLEY.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, JULY 9, 1872.

BY MERWIN S. HAWLEY.

THE general subject of the Origin of the Erie Canal, and especially the question, "Who was the first projector? Who first promulgated the project for such a canal, and called public attention to its feasibility and utility?" has been amply discussed before this Society, and settled in favor of the author of that series of communications signed "Hercules," which appeared in the newspaper called the *Genesee Messenger*, printed in Canandaigua, N. Y., beginning October 27, 1807; and public interest in this branch of the subject is perhaps surfeited, if not quite exhausted.

The absorbing interest in regard to this canal at the present time, relates to the best method of making it adequate to the wants of the great and increasing traffic between the East and West, and effectual to retain and promote the commercial prosperity of our State, by maintaining its supremacy in the domestic commerce of our common country; and, in this connection, the value of one of the propositions of "Hercules" is being more fully appreciated; viz., that the canal be made one hundred feet wide and ten feet deep.

The importance to our State and people of putting this canal in a condition to accommodate all the traffic that may be offered to it, at very low or nominal rates of toll, which is now being so generally recognized, was briefly but distinctly set forth in a paper read by me before the Club of this Society on the third of February, 1868; which paper also, in connection with the paper read by me, February 21, 1866, shows the history of the origin of this canal from known and recorded facts and circumstances, by which our conclusions in the matter have been reached.

But that we may duly regard the truth of this history, and readily perceive some of the fallacies that have been employed in discussing the subject, by persons occupying an erroneous standpoint, and brush away some of the mists with which length of time surrounds human memories, and so correct some errors to which official names have given the semblance of truth, it becomes proper to analyze and develop the facts and the circumstance of this history, from the standpoint of the records, a little further.

In regard to the question of the "first projector" of this canal, the paper read on the third of February, 1868, already referred to, notices and refutes the claim in behalf of Gouverneur Morris, which was advocated by George Geddes, Esq., on the fourth of February, 1867,—and which is based upon the recollections of sundry persons, as stated by themselves some twenty and fifty years after the occurrences which they relate as having transpired,—and upon an erroneous construction of the letter written by Mr. Morris to John Parish, dated December 20, 1800; disregarding all the other writings of Mr. Morris, and other important conversations on the subject of improvements.

The claim in behalf of the "Hercules" essays is based on the facts that they were the first publication of the project for an overland canal to Lake Erie, and were published to the world at the time they were written; and on the assurance of their author that the views they promulgate were original with him,

without having been communicated by any person; with the conviction that the impartial reader of those essays at the present day, will not fail to discover in them internal evidence of their originality with the author. And it is a recorded fact that Elkanah Watson, DeWitt Clinton and others, ascribe to those essays the first intimation of the project which they had been able to find. The research and personal knowledge of Elkanah Watson in regard to the origin and progress of internal improvements, and of the persons indentified with them, were greater than those of any of his contemporaries who wrote on these subjects: and that DeWitt Clinton was well and correctly informed on the same subjects need not be proven here.

It was claimed by me, and the gentlemen of the Club approved the proposition, that a question of this kind should be determined by the actions or the unambiguous writings or statements of the persons, recorded or known at the time of their occurrence; instead of relying upon the memory of other persons through a long course of years, or on a forced or erroneous construction of one letter, rendered ambiguous, perhaps, by events subsequent to its date, when other writings of the same person give abundant evidence of his meaning.

This latter method was the only one available to Mr. Geddes, by which to advocate his claim in behalf of Mr. Morris as the "first projector," and also the claim that James Geddes was entitled to precedence over Jesse Hawley in connection with the project; arguing that James Geddes had "received the idea" second-handed from Mr. Morris, and had communicated it to Mr. Hawley.

I have no desire to open this question; but reasons already indicated seem to require a further exposition of some of the facts and their attendant circumstances as they appear on the pages of history: and while doing this, I feel justified in adopting, to a small extent, the same basis of reasoning used by George Geddes, for the purpose of showing in what manner James Geddes and his friend Joshua Forman received their

first intimation of the project for an overland canal from Lake Erie to tide-water.

In the paper read by me on the third of February, 1868, previously referred to, it is shown that it is impossible to reconcile the letter of Mr. Morris to John Parish, dated December 20, 1800, with the proposition, that Morris had in his mind, when writing that letter, any idea of a communication by water with Lake Erie by the overland route, or by any route except by the way of Lake Ontario, around Niagara Falls by the contemplated ship canal; for the construction of which, a Company had been incorporated in 1798.

Mr. Morris was possessed of a vigorous mind and of clear ideas, and he had a rare facility of expressing himself on paper. He did not write ambiguous letters, although sometimes romantic. When writing his beautiful letters to Mr. Parish in December, 1800, he writes from the standpoint of his recently traveled route to Fort Erie and "so back again," and of his knowledge of the business route of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, and of the projected Niagara Ship Canal; and that letter has been made to appear ambiguous perhaps by the projection and successful completion of the overland canal since its date, or at least its meaning has been perverted by claimants for fame in connection with this canal since the decease of Mr. Morris, and after the success and popularity of this work had become well assured; although the letter of Mr. Morris to General Henry Lee, written about thirty days after the date of that letter to John Parish, shows to a certainty that his meaning was "to sail * * * into Lake Erie" by the Ontario route.

It is also shown in the paper read on the third of February, 1868, that it is impossible to reconcile the statements of Mr. DeWitt in his letter to William Darby, in 1822, about his interview with Mr. Morris at Schenectady, in 1803,—with other conversations and writings on the same subject, by Mr. Morris, while pursuing his way on that journey.

I am not questioning the integrity of purpose in Mr. DeWitt, for writing as he did in the letter above mentioned. That letter purports to give from memory the substance of an informal conversation between Mr. Morris and himself nineteen years previously,—about the first of September, 1803;—while the conversation and writing of Mr. Morris a few days afterward, show, that he had then no project nor any conception of one, for a water communication with Lake Erie except by a canal "from the head of Onondaga River as far east as it will go on that level; if practicable, into the Mohawk River,"—and that "a branch might easily be carried to Lake Ontario * * * at Oswego;" thence to Lake Erie by the contemplated ship canal.

The public mind in those localities was strongly exercised at that time in regard to improved means of communication, long expected, but only partially realized, by the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, and Mr. Morris was contriving methods of communication between tide-water and his large estates in St. Lawrence County; and while Mr. DeWitt's position would naturally interest him in projects for public improvements, the isolated condition of Onondaga County would incline her people to regard with intense favor any measure that gave promise of an easy access to eastern markets: and it is not surprising that some of those people should erroneously connect in their imagination those early efforts in behalf of local improvements with the first movements in favor of this greater and more extensive enterprise.

Between the years 1803 and 1822, very much had been said, written and accomplished in regard to the Erie Canal,—at the latter date it was far progressed toward completion;—many persons had acquired well-merited fame in connection with its commencement and progress; and some persons were discussing the question of who was entitled to the honors due to its first projector,—in which discussions the innate modesty of the author of the "Hercules" essays forbade him to take any part.

Mr. DeWitt's official position made him an observer of all this; very many matters, official an unofficial, communicated verbally, must have had his attention and then passed from his memory; and it would be strange indeed if his recollections had not become confused in regard to many things he had heard about canals. He would remember, with pleasure, his interview with Mr. Morris in 1803, at Schenectady, and recollect, also, that a prominent topic of conversation was the improvement of facilities for transportation; and as, in 1822, the Erie Canal was so far advanced in its progress of construction as to have become an "artificial river" almost across the State, it was very easy for him (and it is not surprising that he did so) to connect in his imagination the conversation of Mr. Morris nineteen years previously, with this gigantic work which for several years had absorbed public attention; and so be led to write as he did to Mr. Darby, that the remarks of Mr. Morris in reference to such local improvements as were engaging his attention and efforts in 1803, were made in reference to an overland canal.

Mr. DeWitt wrote from the standpoint of a successful and popular enterprise, then nearly completed and extending *through* the State; while the remarks of Mr. Morris were from the standpoint of several local improvements, having the Onondaga River and Lake Ontario as their termination, with a ship canal around Niagara Falls, and did not refer to a direct overland canal to Lake Erie; as is fully shown by his conversation with Mr. Broadhead at Rome, as he continued on that journey, and by the memorandum he made in his diary at Three-River Point, on September 12, 1803, while further prosecuting that journey; and well substantiated by the fact that, although Mr. DeWitt and Mr. Morris were on terms of personal intimacy for many years, both being members of the first Board of Commissioners for Exploration in 1810, no record is found in existence to show that Mr. Morris entertained any idea of an overland canal to Lake Erie, until July 12, 1810.

The resolution passed by the Legislature of 1808, on the motion of Judge Forman, directed the Surveyor-General to cause a survey to be made "of the rivers, streams and waters in the *usual route* of communication between Hudson River and Lake Erie, and such other contemplated route as *he may think proper;*" and Surveyor-General DeWitt appointed James Geddes to perform that public service. From Mr. DeWitt's letter of instructions to Mr. Geddes, I quote as follows: "You will, in the *first place*, examine what may appear to be the best place for a canal from Oneida Lake to Lake Ontario in the town of Mexico, and take a survey and level of it; also whether a canal cannot be made between Oneida Lake and Oswego, by a route in part to the west of Oswego River. The *next object* will be the ground between Lake Erie and Lake Ontario, which *must be examined* with a view to determine what will be the most eligible track for a canal from below Niagara Falls to Lake Erie. * * As Mr. Joseph Ellicott has given me a description of the country from Tonawanda Creek to the Genesee River, and pointed out a route for a canal through that tract, it is important to have a continuation of it explored to the Seneca River. No leveling or survey of it *will be necessary* for the present. * * A view of the ground only, with such information as may be obtained from others, is all that can now be required of you."

The "usual route" mentioned in the legislative resolution, was none other than the "Ontario route," a Portage Company being employed around Niagara Falls; and it was wholly in the discretion of Mr. DeWitt whether any other route should be explored, and to what extent another route should participate in this development of its advantages. If he had heard an overland route portrayed so vividly in 1803,—as he states nineteen years afterwards,—his memory would have been quickened upon it in 1808 by Mr. Forman's proposition and speech in the Legislature; and his patriotism would have influenced his discretion to direct that a large portion of the surveyor's

time and expense should be devoted to explorations for that overland route. Instead of doing so, he directed that the first efforts, the second efforts, and almost the whole time and efforts of that surveyor should be devoted to the advancement of that route for "sailing into Lake Erie"—which Mr. Morris contemplated in 1800, when writing to John Parish; and to which he referred in 1803, when conversing with Mr. DeWitt at Schenectady;—viz., the "Ontario route."

In Mr. DeWitt's letter of instructions to James Geddes, which is dated June 11, 1808, he says: "As Mr. Joseph Ellicott *has* given me a description of the country from Tonawanda Creek to Genesee River," &c. Mr. DeWitt intended, doubtless, to write to Mr. Ellicott for that information, as he afterwards did; and he felt assured he would get it, as Mr. Ellicott was competent to give it, and too patriotic to withhold it when applied to. But Mr. DeWitt had not received that information from Mr. Ellicott at the date of his instructions to James Geddes, as Mr. DeWitt's letter to Mr. Ellicott asking for this information is dated June 13, 1808, and Mr. Ellicott's reply is dated July 30, 1808.

Among other instances that might be shown of Mr. DeWitt's forgetfulness or confusion of facts, I will cite only one more, viz., the question of veracity and of fact growing out of statements in Mr. DeWitt's letter to William Darby, and resented by Mr. Forman, in his letter to Doctor Hosack.

It is thus seen that Mr. DeWitt must have "misapprehended" and misapplied the remarks of Mr. Morris in 1803, when the former wrote the letter to William Darby in 1822; as it is shown that Mr. Morris could not have had in mind any project for an overland canal to Lake Erie, and therefore he could not, and did not, communicate such a project to Mr. DeWitt; and it follows that Mr. DeWitt did not communicate the idea of such a project to James Geddes in the winter of 1804; and that James Geddes did not communicate it to Jesse Hawley at their interview in Geneva, "in the winter of 1806,"—"the winter be-

fore he wrote his essays." And it also follows that the efforts of James Geddes to form public opinion in favor of a canal, until 1807, when, as a result of those efforts, Joshua Forman was elected to the Legislature as a "canal man," were *not* directed by considerations of a canal "across the country, and not by Lake Ontario;" but those efforts were directed to questions respecting such local canals as Mr. Morris had indicated in his diary, and to which he had reference in his conversation with Mr. DeWitt at Schenectady in 1803, which was communicated to James Geddes at the legislative session of 1804; and the proposition for such improvements at that time was well adapted to arouse the enthusiasm of the people of Onondaga, and lead them to elect to the Legislature a *canal* man of sufficient influence to procure an appropriation for surveying the ground for any proposed improvements that would give them better facilities for reaching the seaboard markets; and with this view they elected to the Assembly, in April, 1807, the "Union Ticket" of John McWhorter, a Democrat, and Joshua Forman, a Federal, under the caption of "Canal Ticket:" and Clark's History of Onondaga says: "Mr. Forman was elected upon the express understanding that he would try to procure the appropriation of money to make examinations of the country."

In reference to the interview between James Geddes and Jesse Hawley at Geneva, "in the winter of 1806," Mr. Hawley, in his letter to Dr. Hosack, in 1828, written in response to a call for information on the subject of the canal,—this being the first time he was known to take up his pen to assert or vindicate his claim to priority in this matter,—writes as follows: "I saw Judge Geddes at Utica, in April, 1804, for the first time; he was returning from the Legislature; I saw him again at Geneva in the winter of 1806,—this was about ten months after I had suggested [to Col. Mynderse] the idea of an overland canal: again I saw him at his house in Onondaga, in September, 1811; he had then surveyed a part of the route under the direction of the first Board of Commissioners, when

we conversed on the subject, I believe for the first time; I do not recollect that any mention was made of it when we met at Geneva; if there was, I presume that I first spoke of it."

If Judge Geddes had "received the idea of passing a canal over the country to Lake Erie, from the Surveyor-General, in the winter of 1804,"—and if the idea had made such a "vivid impression on his mind," as he states twenty-five years afterwards that it did, he would have given some expression to it when, on his way home in April following, he had an interview at Utica with Mr. Hawley, who was then a merchant at Geneva, and was much interested in any project for public improvements. But no such communication was made. If he had "received an idea" which he regarded as so momentous, in 1804, and was unable to bring the subject before that Legislature, of which he was a member, he would, of course, propose to one of his representatives the next winter, that legislative attention should be called to the subject; or, neglecting that, he would surely have solicited his neighbor, Jasper Hopper, who was one of the members from Onondaga in 1806, to press upon the authorities at Albany an idea of so much importance; and yet there is no record nor any pretence that any such action was taken or contemplated, until the election of Mr. Forman to the Legislature of 1808;—and yet Mr. Forman himself gives a *full contradiction* to the "idea" which it is pretended has been *handed down* from Mr. Morris, and to the statement that he was elected on the theory of an overland canal. And if Judge Geddes had been so much impressed with the paramount importance of an overland route, as has been claimed, he could not have consented as he did, without some strong remonstrance, to carry out the instructions of the Surveyor-General, and spend the whole sum appropriated for his expenses, and the entire summer and autumn, in exploring the Ontario route, including the Niagara Ship Canal project; which service Judge Geddes says he "entered upon with enthusiasm:" and yet, from the information derived from the

"Hercules" essays, or upon the suggestion contained in the closing paragraph of his instructions, he was induced to make a cursory winter examination between the Seneca and Genesee rivers; and he left his home in the month of December, and devoted some days amidst the snows, for that purpose.

Valuable as that winter examination may be called, as one of the preliminaries to the great enterprise which was commenced a few years afterwards, the labors and explorations of that whole season, together with Judge Geddes' report and other written statements, are *so inconsistent* with the pretence that it "was not an agreeable work for him to survey the Ontario route," and that "his views were all directed to finding a practical route overland," that they leave *no alternative* to the conclusion that both Judge Geddes and Mr. DeWitt were intent upon and absorbed with a determined purpose to advance the interests of that route to Ontario and thence to Lake Erie, which, in the years 1800 and 1803, had engaged the pen and dictated the conversation of Gouverneur Morris.

Although Mr. Forman was elected in April, 1807 (elections being then in the spring), the first and regular session of that Legislature did not commence until January, 1808; and Mr. Forman had time during that interval to inform himself in regard to the question, so important in the isolated condition of the people of Onondaga, upon which he had been especially elected. That he improved the time, to some extent, for that purpose, and for increasing his abilities for usefulness to the State as well as to his constituents, will appear from the sequel.

In 1807, Mr. Forman was a lawyer, having his office at Onondaga Hollow. James Geddes also lived in that vicinity. He writes in 1829: "Between the years 1804 and 1808 I had often conversed with my neighbor, Judge Forman, on the subject of the canal to Lake Erie." And Mr. Forman says he conversed freely with Judge Geddes on the subject. Benajah Byington also lived in the same vicinity, and he held the office of Justice of the Peace. The *Genesee Messenger* was published

in Canandaigua; and among its agents in most of the central counties in the State, who were authorized to receive subscriptions and payments for it, was Jasper Hopper, the Postmaster at Onondaga Hollow. Doctor Hosack says of this newspaper, "It was then extensively circulated." No newspaper but one of respectability and general circulation, would be likely to secure the services, as its agent, of such a man as Jasper Hopper.

The first number of the series of essays by Jesse Hawley, signed "Hercules," had for its caption, "Observations on Canals," in full capital letters, and was published in the *Genesee Messenger*, October 27, 1807, occupying a conspicuous position on the first page of the paper. The second number, in which the route for the canal is traced from Lake Erie to the Mohawk, was published November 3, 1807. The third and the fourth numbers, in which are discussed the length of time requisite, and the size of the canal that should be adopted, were published on the tenth and the seventeenth of November, 1807, respectively. The fifth number, in which the probable cost of such a canal and its commercial utility are treated of, was published November 24, 1807. The sixth number, in which its agricultural and commercial importance is profoundly discussed, was published December 8, 1807. The seventh and the eighth numbers, which are devoted to the question of the resources of capital, were published respectively on the fifteenth and the twenty-second of December, 1807. The remaining numbers are devoted to pointing out other improvements in various portions of the United States; number ten, particularly, showing the great resources and the growing power of the State of New York, if this canal shall be constructed, and setting forth the project for the Champlain Canal.

As has been already remarked, the impartial reader of those essays will not be in doubt about their originality. Doctor Hosack says of them, "They must have had great influence in preparing the legislative measures that succeeded."

The action of Mr. Forman in the Assembly, for procuring

surveys in the interior, was in February, 1808, three months subsequent to the date of the newspaper which contained the delineation of the route for the canal; and as Mr. Forman was not under the necessity of leaving his home to take his seat in that Legislature until January, and his neighbor, Jasper Hopper, the Postmaster, was the agent for the *Genesee Messenger*, and of course was early supplied with every number of that newspaper, Mr. Forman had ample opportunity to study all those essays which related to the Erie Canal, before going to enter upon his official duties at Albany. And the coincidence between the views set forth and the language used by Mr. Forman, in his speech in support of the resolution he then offered, and the views and language of "Hercules," in the essays published on the third, tenth and twenty-fourth of November, and on the fifteenth of December, 1807, suggests the probability that they originated in one and the same mind; and also, that the promulgations of "Hercules" had stimulated Mr. Forman to the study of that lengthy and abstruse dissertation on canals in the sixth volume of Rees' Encyclopedia, which he did after arriving in Albany.

Benajah Byington and Jesse Hawley had some correspondence upon this subject in August, 1835, which was published at the time.

Judge Oliver R. Strong, an early resident of Syracuse, and of the first respectability, says: "In the years 1807 and 1808 I knew Benajah Byington very well. He was a Justice of the Peace, was a man of good education and general cultivation and respectability, and any letters he would write in regard to public matters, or to historic or current events in that vicinity, would be entitled to entire credibility; his veracity was unquestionable." And Judge Strong adds: "I know Byington must have been intimate with Forman, and often in his office."

Mr. Byington wrote to Mr. Hawley under date of August 26, 1835, from which letter I quote a follows: "I can state from recollection which is very distinct on the subject, that I lived

near Joshua Forman (then a lawyer in Onondaga Hollow) in the years 1806, 1807 and 1808; that I was often in his office in those years, and there I saw the newspaper called the *Genesee Messenger*, containing a series of publications on the subject of a route for a canal from Lake Erie to Utica, and recollect hearing remarks made at that time by Mr. Forman and others, on the subject of those publications. I spent a part of the winter of 1819–20 in Albany, with Judge Forman. In a conversation while there, he asked me if I recollected the publications which we had seen many years before in the *Genesee Messenger*, and had noticed how nearly the route there laid down corresponded with the route that had been adopted and was then in progress. I told him I had not seen those papers since about the time of their publication. He then invited me to go with him to Elkanah Watson's, who kept a file of that paper. Mr. Watson produced a file of the papers alluded to, and we amused ourselves in comparing the route you had proposed, with the actual line adopted by the Commissioners, and were all surprised that so little deviation from the route you had laid down, had taken place. It was from them that I first learned that Jesse Hawley was the author of those publications, and from the conversation there had I supposed they believed Jesse Hawley to be the first projector of the route of the canal which had been adopted by the State."

From Mr. Hawley's letter to Mr. Byington, I also quote the following: "While I claim the reputation of having first written on the subject of an overland canal, Judge Forman and Judge Wright have the prominent reputation of being the first legislators who gave it an official consideration, and set the ball of the project in motion; and it is highly gratifying to my feelings to learn from you that Judge Forman derived his first idea of it from my writings. This fact was, indeed, intimated to me by Dr. Thomas H. Rawson, formerly Superintendent of the Public Salt Works."

Dr. Rawson was Superintendent of the salt springs in the year 1808; and, occupying a public and official position, he

might be expected to confer freely with Mr. Forman upon matters of public interest. We have seen that those essays of "Hercules" were "the original and the first publication of the project for the overland route of the canal;" and that the author of them did *not* "receive the suggestion as coming from Gouverneur Morris." We also learn from the well authenticated sources which have been set forth, that those essays did furnish both the inspiration and the material for that legislation initiated by Mr. Forman in February, 1808; and as we have the statements of both Mr. Forman and James Geddes, that they were on terms of frequent and friendly intercourse during several years about that period, and often conversed together on the subject of internal improvements, freely exchanging views and plans with each other, the conclusion is unavoidable, that they both derived their first impressions in favor of an overland route to Lake Erie, from the same source.

The *Genesee Messenger* had its agent, the Postmaster in that village, the County-seat of Onondaga, and the paper must have been very generally seen and read there; Mr. Geddes and Mr. Forman were reading and thinking men; both were diligently seeking information in regard to any measures that would be likely to benefit the country of their residence; and we cannot perpetrate such an indignity to their intelligence and patriotism, nor so entirely disregard all the known evidences bearing upon the case, as to permit a doubt that both of those gentlemen read the essays of "Hercules" in November and December, 1807, within forty-eight hours after the newspapers which contained them were printed.

In addition, therefore, to the claim of priority and originality in regard to the project of an overland canal, made by and in behalf of the author of the "Hercules" essays, I also claim, as the inevitable conclusion from all the recorded facts and circumstances connected with the subject which are known to the public, that James Geddes received his first intimations of that project from the communications of Jesse Hawley.

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THE BATTLE OF GRAND ISLAND.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MARCH 1, 1869.

BY NATHANIEL WILGUS.

THE treaty of peace concluded between the United States and Great Britain in 1815, fixed the boundary between the two countries on our frontier along the principal branch of the Niagara River. A dispute as to which was the principal branch was settled in 1818 by Commissioners appointed by the two Governments, and it was thus determined that Grand Island belonged to the United States. While the matter was undecided, a large number of lawless persons, mostly refugees from justice from both sides of the river, settled upon this island, locating principally along the shores. Remaining for some time unmolested, they began to commit extensive depredations upon the timber; and, finally, they formed an independent Government, and elected a full quota of municipal officers. In April, 1819, the Legislature of the State of New York passed an Act authorizing the removal of the trespassers; and, during the succeeding summer, the Governor issued a proclamation commanding them to desist from their depredations upon the property of the State, and to remove forthwith from the island.

A few obeyed the command; but when no active demonstrations were made by the Government, they returned and con-

tinued their trespass. In the fall of 1819, Governor Clinton directed Colonel James Cronk, the Sheriff of Niagara County, which then embraced Erie County, to call out a sufficient military force and forcibly expel the intruders; and on the ninth of December, 1819, the Sheriff, accompanied by Lieutenants Benjamin Hodge and Stephen Osborn, two sergeants, four corporals and twenty-four privates, went to the island in boats manned by twenty boatmen, to carry into execution the orders of the Governor. The military were divided into three parties; a vanguard to read the Governor's orders and assist in clearing the houses, a second party to forcibly remove all property left in the buildings, and a rear guard to burn the buildings and complete the removal and destruction. Seventy houses were burned, and one hundred and fifty people,—men, women and children,—were turned out shelterless upon the shores of the United States and Canada, as the boatmen took them to either shore which they might select.

The removal and destruction occupied five days, and cost the State five hundred and sixty-eight dollars and ninety-nine cents. A few of the expelled families returned immediately, but did not remain permanently.

When Sheriff Cronk received his order to undertake the expedition, he made a requisition upon Lieutenant Hodge to call his company into service. Being the orderly sergeant of that company, I was directed to summon the men to meet at the rendezvous on the northeast corner of Main and Eagle streets in Buffalo, now occupied by Farthing's meat shop.* The order was promptly obeyed, and the company marched down Niagara River to a point opposite the head of Grand Island, the boats being in readiness there to transport us across the river, where we landed about five o'clock in the afternoon.

*A site which in former days was made conspicuous, during the exciting election times of "Tippecanoe and Tyler too," by the Whig Log Cabin, and was long occupied by what was then one of Buffalo's chief places of amusement, McArthur's Garden; but is now (1880) covered with business buildings.

Captain William Dickson, lately deceased in this city, and long and favorably known as one of our lake captains, and Captain Benjamin Fowler, of Buffalo, also deceased, are the only ones of the boats' crews I now remember.

A rumor having prevailed in this village that the inhabitants upon the island had made formal preparations to resist our landing, Lieutenant Hodge had taken the precaution to have our guns loaded with ball cartridge; but we landed without opposition, and unloaded our boats, and prepared to encamp for the night, after placing men on guard and picket duty.

The next morning, after breakfast, the expedition took up the line of march,—the vanguard in advance, of whom John L. Kimberly, Esq., of Buffalo, was one, and who is the only person now living, beside myself, that I know of, who served upon this occasion. We marched directly to the Canada side of the island, and the first building we found was occupied by a man and his wife. The Sheriff gave them the choice to go either to Canada or the United States, and as they chose the former, their property was placed upon boats, and with them landed in Canada, and we destroyed the building by fire. We continued our course down the river, burning the first day seven or eight buildings, and removing the people, with their effects, to Canada. The next morning we found a man and a woman living in a very comfortable log house, but destitute of furniture and provisions. He begged of Sheriff Cronk to let them remain, and said that he had a wife in the United States and the woman a husband in Canada; and that they were thus placed in a peculiarly unpleasant situation by reason of their seeking affinities not recognized by the law of either country. After a considerable time spent in conversation, the Sheriff concluded to let them alone, and gave them some provisions and two quarts of whisky, and they gave their promise to soon quit the country. We continued on the same course, and found a number of uninhabited houses, which we destroyed according to orders.

The third day we came across an old Irishman by the name of Denison,* who was busy at work with a number of men, putting up several houses. I think he had no family of his own on the island at the time, except one or two sons. He claimed a right to remain, and told the Sheriff that he had discovered the secret of perpetual motion, and if the Sheriff would let him alone he would give him one-half interest in his discovery; but Colonel Cronk told him he must put his perpetual motion in use and leave the island at once, and ordered all the buildings to be torn down. Being built of green logs they would not burn, and we did not then remove him to Canada, but left him, on his promise to go immediately, which he did. There were but two or three buildings destroyed during the remainder of that day.

The fourth night we stayed at a house occupied by a man and his wife, who appeared much above those whom we had visited. They were very well supplied with provisions for the winter, and in almost every manner were exceptions to the other inhabitants. They stated that they came from Connecticut, and had been on the island but a short time. That night the Sheriff and officers concluded they would go over to Canada on a spree; and, leaving about seven o'clock, returned at one in the morning, pretty well used up. Warrants had been issued in Canada for their arrest, and they left just in time to save their bacon.

The fifth and last day, we left the lower end of the west side of the island, early in the morning, for home. The only clearing we saw during the time was about eighty to one hundred acres of most excellent sandy soil. By the time we had reached the east side of the island the boats had come around the lower end, and were just in time to accompany us up the river. About half way across the island we saw a large deserted building, which, from appearances, had been used as a cooper's shop for

*See vol. I, page 327.—Ed.

the dressing of staves. On it was posted a precept issued by one of the Justices of the Peace, and executed by one of their constables, and commencing, "In the name of the People of Grand Island." We continued on our march up the river, but I think saw no buildings on the American side of the island until we arrived at the dwelling occupied by Pendleton Clark, who had been styled by some of the inhabitants as Governor Clark.* We found that he had anticipated our arrival, and had placed his household effects upon a scowboat, in readiness to leave at a moment's warning.

After a long conversation with the Sheriff, and upon his promise to leave, we took our march for the head of the island, the boats having gone on before us; and then re-crossed the Niagara to the main shore, and stayed, I think, at Seely's Tavern that night, and I footed it home.

Thus ended the execution of Governor Clinton's orders and the *Expedition to Grand Island;* an event which has nearly been lost to the remembrance of our people.

The inhabitants, with one exception, chose to go to Canada; they were very poor, and I do not think I saw a cow or a hog on the island. We had supposed that we should find plenty of game, and kept one or two hunters out, but they brought in only squirrels and wild duck. I have seen it stated that there were two buildings, filled with grain, destroyed, but such was not the fact; and I do not believe that there were two bushels of grain of any kind upon the island. Mr. Clark told me afterwards at my store in Buffalo, that, finding that the Canal Commissioner had commenced work on the Erie Canal and was engaged upon the Tonawanda Creek, he went directly to Batavia, where the Holland Land Company kept its office, and took up that section of land where now stands the Village of Pendleton, named so by him; but he never alluded to his Grand Island adventure, in our conversation.

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*See vol. I, page 307.—Ed.

FIFTY YEARS AGO.

HISTORICAL REMINISCENCES OF GENERAL AND LOCAL INTEREST, IN 1817 AND 1818.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, MARCH 1, 1869.

BY HON. JAMES SHELDON.

We cannot appreciate the wonderful physical development and the expansion of our country in all that constitutes material progress, in any better manner than by considering the present and the past when placed in immediate comparison. Fifty years ago,—not a period of years long enough to invest those days with the silver glory of antiquity, but after all, the change partakes of the marvelous, and the prophetic voice that then had dared to syllable of the present, would have been rebuked with the smile of incredulity.

I have lately been perusing the first volume of "The American Monthly Magazine and Critical Review," published in New York in 1817, and issued in monthly numbers; and have been afforded so much of amusement in the general matter of the book, and derived so much information concerning things and events of local interest, that I deemed it a pleasant task to set down in some consecutive form such items as appeared of interest. The first number, issued in May, 1817, contains a scathing review of Canto 3 of Byron's Childe Harold, then just issued to the world; and the only wonder is, if we can repose any con-

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fidence in the assertions of the critic, that the name of that distinguished poet has not long since faded into forgetfulness; but as the same article condemns the Christabel of Coleridge to everlasting obscurity, and as the fame of those poets has grown as the world waxed old, we can but think that the genius who presided over the literary department of the number made some mistake in his observations. He was nearer right, when in the succeeding pages he devours the whole of Captain James Riley's narrative, with all its Munchausen tales, and sounds its praises as being entitled to all credit and respect.

Each number contains an account of the proceedings at the monthly meeting of the New York City Historical Society, in which such venerable names as Samuel Mitchell, David Hosack and DeWitt Clinton appear as active members; and also an epitome of religious intelligence, a summary of historical events, not only for our country but the whole world, and a chapter of domestic occurrences in each State, embracing particularly marriages and deaths, as well as wonderful events. It is principally to the consideration of these last named particulars that this memorandum is devoted.

In political intelligence, we find related a circumstantial account of the attempt upon the life of the Prince Regent, on his return from the House of Lords, and of the formidable conspiracy in England and Scotland for the avowed object of revolution in the Church and State; of the suspension of the *Habeas Corpus* Act, which was tolerated by the free-born Britons, who could not allow a similar proceeding in our Republic when engaged in conquering the most formidable rebellion the world ever witnessed.

It appears, also, that earthquakes were then in fashion; for an account is given of the shocks experienced at Kingston, Upper Canada, and at Ogdensburg, exciting general apprehension. Wonders then existed which would have attracted the attention of a Barnum; for a full account is given of a prodigious fish which came on shore below Quebec, whose dimensions

were enormous, of which some idea may be formed from its protruding and breaking whole fields of ice, of extraordinary thickness, in its career; that it drew the admiration of hundreds, and a great portion of the inhabitants were employed in cutting the blubber into chunks, to be reduced into oil, of which the account says it would afford some *thousand of barrels*, etc.

Under date of Montreal, April 5, we learn by an advertisement from the Lieutenant-Governor's office at York (now Toronto), that a canal communication from Kingston to La-Chine (just above Montreal) by the River Rideau, is to be seriously undertaken. Then was the commencement of that system of water improvement by which it has been sought to turn the channel of commerce through the British Possessions to the ocean.

Under the head of Albany, April 8, we are informed that the Legislature had adjourned, after a session of three months; and among the most prominent bills passed was one providing for the immediate commencement of the canals which were to connect the waters of the lakes with those of the Hud son; and that the Board of Commissioners were to take im mediate measures for the commencement of that gigantic work, whose cost was estimated at the fabulous sum of $4,881,733.

How little did those legislators imagine of the wealth untold to be lavished in after years upon that work; of the millions to be stolen by contractors and engineers; of the enlargements and double-locks; and of its national importance in our generation.

The same date tells, also, of the law passed March 31, 1817, for the final and total abolition of slavery in this State, to take effect July 4, 1827. Few men of our day are aware that it is only forty years since human slavery existed in this State; and when we look back forty years and bear witness to the total eradication of that barbarous system within the limits of the Republic, we can hardly realize that such a radical change can have been accomplished in one generation.

An advertisement in the Buffalo *Gazette* of January 27, 1818, contains the last public record of the institution of slavery in Buffalo. It is as follows:

"FOR SALE.—A young, healthy black woman and child. She understands all kinds of house-work and cooking, and is perfectly honest. For further particulars inquire at this office."

Another law passed at the same session by which imprisonment for debt for sums not exceeding twenty-five dollars was abolished, and thus another relic of barbarism was swept from the Statute-book. The Council of Appointment, it is stated, had appointed Samuel Wilkeson, of Buffalo, to be Judge for Niagara County.

By a reference to the files of the Buffalo *Gazette*, it appears that the appointments made at the time for Niagara County were as follows:

Judges and Justices—Oliver Forward, Charles Townsend, Samuel Wilkeson, Gideon Frisbee and Samuel Russell.

Surrogate—Ebenezer Johnson.

Coroners—Samuel Fillmore, Joseph Landon and L. Cook.

Masters in Chancery—Jonas Harrison (the father of James C. Harrison, Esq.), Albert H. Tracy and James M. Stevens.

Auctioneer—Lothrop Cook, of Lewiston.

The original commission signed by Daniel D. Tompkins, Governor, issued to Judges Forward, Townsend, Wilkeson and others, is in the possession of Mr. Charles Townsend Rich, son of Andrew J. Rich, Esq., and grandson of Judge Townsend; and is preserved as a family memento.

Under the head of marriages, we learn that Mr. Noah Folsom and Miss Mary Gilman were married at Buffalo.

From Pennsylvania, we are told that "an Association is spoken of at Philadelphia to establish a line of wagons between that city and Pittsburg, to start at fixed times; and, by traveling day and night, to make the journey in seven days." It is well to observe that this project is only *spoken of*, for no doubt such an undertaking, involving such velocity, could never have been

carried out with success. From Virginia, we learn that Major-General Winfield Scott was married near Richmond to Miss Maria D. Mayo; a romantic affair which has long since been a matter of newspaper discussion. The Buffalo *Gazette* of August 19, announces that on the preceding Tuesday, "General Scott and lady arrived in this village. On Wednesday, they passed across the Niagara, and after reviewing the theater of the contending armies in 1814, we understand, were to embark in the steamboat Ontario for Sackett's Harbor."

An extract from a letter from a gentleman at Corydon, Indiana, is published, giving the following information: "Since the last sales of public lands in this State, land has risen in price, and population has increased at a rate vastly over any period heretofore. Our seat of government is established at this place (Corydon) for nine years; the permanent seat will undoubtedly be in that section of the State at this time belonging to the Delaware Indians. There is no probability of a removal, till that country is purchased and settled, nor is there a probability that any money reserved for the opening of great State roads or for public schools will be appropriated previous to the year 1820."

Thus we see that fifty years ago the good people of Indiana were waiting to buy out the Delaware Indians before they could locate a seat of government; and that they had not commenced the building of public roads or organized a common school system. But the poor Indians have disappeared before the advancing civilization of the pale-faces; the city of Indianapolis is a capital in the center of their hunting grounds; a State has grown up like a giant, that furnished over one hundred and twenty-five thousand men in the war of the late rebellion, and cast over three hundred and forty thousand votes at the last Presidential election.

Among items of foreign news it is stated that, on the twenty-fourth of February, ten thousand British troops arrived in England from France, being one-third of the army which had occu-

pied Paris upon the downfall of Bonaparte; that Las Casas and his son had arrived at the Cape of Good Hope from St. Helena, and that Bonaparte, a few days before, in a fit of spleen, had cut up a quantity of plate and sold it, under the pretense that his allowance was not sufficient.

The religious intelligence informs us that Father G., a Jesuit, expresses himself respecting the treasures of art which had been brought back from Paris to the monastery at Erfurt. Among the relics are many highly valuable, which may be regarded as diamonds of the first water; as, for example, nine of the skulls of the eleven thousand virgins, a piece of the gown of the Virgin Mary, the tuning hammer belonging to David's harp, and many other similar treasures. He omitted to mention the sword that Balaam wished for with which to smite his ass.

In the June number is an epitome of the report of the Canal Commissioners, from which the following extract is made:

"The dimensions of the Western or Erie Canal and locks, ought in the opinion of the Commissioners, to be as follows, viz: Width on the surface, forty feet; at the bottom, twenty-eight feet; and depth of water, four feet; the length of a lock ninety feet, and its width twelve feet in the clear. Vessels carrying one hundred tons may navigate a canal of this size, and all the lumber produced in the country and required for market may be transported upon it. From their own examination, the Commissioners determined that it would be expedient to connect the west end of the great canal with the waters of Lake Erie, through the mouth of Buffalo Creek. In adopting this determination they were influenced by the following considerations: It is important to have at that end a safe harbor, capable, without much expense, of sufficient enlargement for the accommodation of all boats and vessels, that a very extensive trade may hereafter require to enter and exchange their lading there. The waters of Lake Erie are higher at the mouth of the Buffalo Creek than they are at Bird Island or any point further down the Niagara, and every inch gained in elevation will produce a large saving in the expense of excavation throughout the Lake Erie level."

This extract carries us back to the time when the decision spoken of, of making Buffalo Creek in place of Black Rock the

termination of the Erie Canal, was arrived at, and laid the foundation of the splendid city in which we live.

Under the head of literary intelligence, it is stated that Mr. Charles Phillips is preparing for the press, speeches delivered by him at the bar and on various public occasions; a work which was long since familiar to every school-boy; that Miss Edgeworth had a new volume in press, and that the new poem on which Mr. Thomas Moore has been for some time engaged, is an Oriental romance, entitled, "Lalla Rookh." We learn also that the President had promoted our brave and distinguished fellow-citizen, Major-General Bennett Riley, now deceased, from the rank of Second Lieutenant to be a First Lieutenant in the regular army. Little did the young officer dream of the glories of Cherubusco and Mexico, and of the respect and admiration of a grateful people.

The real and personal property of Niagara County, embracing the present counties of Erie and Niagara, are stated at $2,779,988; no doubt a fabulous amount at that early period.

Under the head of marriages, it is mentioned that our well-known and respected fellow-citizen, James L. Barton, was married at Buffalo to Sally M. Horner; and the death of Mr. William Wilgus is mentioned as occurring at this place. An account is given of the first anniversary meeting of the American Bible Society, which was held at Washington Hall, in New York City, May 8.

In the July number, it is announced that DeWitt Clinton has been elected Governor of the State of New York; that the Commissioners of the canal fund had advertised for a loan of two hundred thousand dollars, which was immediately taken up by Prime, Ward & Sands; that Jesse Hawley had been appointed Collector of the Port of Buffalo in place of Caleb Hopkins, resigned; that President Monroe arrived in New York June 11, and was received with great honors and made an honorary member of the New York Historical Society,—an honor which the Buffalo Historical Society omitted to pay to

President Johnson on the occasion of his Presidential tour.

The chronicles of that month tell that Sylvester Matthews was married at Buffalo to Miss Louisa Haddock, and that a like catastrophe happened at Batavia to Mr. Trumbull Cary and Miss Margaret Brisbane.

An article concerning Russia and its progress states as follows: "Russia seems disposed to extend her already colossal empire by new acquisitions of territory. Her settlement and establishments on the north-west coast of America are annually extended. We lately hear of her disposition to obtain the island of Malta in the Mediterranean, and learn more recently that she has taken possession of Otaha, one of the Society Islands, in the Pacific Ocean, or in their vicinity, and fortified it. It is not unlikely that at no very distant period her claims and interests may seriously conflict with ours on the western shores of our continent." Fifty years have elapsed, and we men of this day have seen that the only conflict between her claims and interests and those of our country, which has occurred to this time, has cost the Republic seven million dollars in gold, for the glorious but barren privilege of planting the Stars and Stripes upon the peak of Mount Elias.

An item of expeditious traveling is also given, as follows: "Accidentally, a circumstance came to our knowledge, of the truth of which any one who chooses may be informed from the fountain head. Captain Roosback, on Wednesday morning last, took command of the steamboat Chancellor Livingston, and with her left Albany at nine in the morning; and at five on the following morning, being twenty hours, he arrived in New York. The succeeding morning, at seven, he left New York again in her, and arrived at Albany at five the next morning, being twenty-two hours."

In the August number, it is stated, among the items of religious intelligence, that the Rev. William Bacon had been ordained to the work of the Gospel ministry, as an Evangelist, by the Presbytery of Niagara at Buffalo.

The Ohio paper of that time informs us that Governor Cass, of Michigan Territory (and there are those here who will remember when Lewis Cass was Governor Cass), had been invested with power to treat with the Indians for the extinguishment of their title to the land in that State.

Also, that on the thirtieth of June, there arrived at Cincinnati a small schooner-built boat from Rome, on the Mohawk, in thirty days. The boat was conducted by a Captain Dean and four Indians; passengers, two squaws and an Indian boy. They sailed on the same day for the Wabash. Their avowed object was to enter on lands in behalf of their tribe; then ascend the Wabash to its source; cross with their boat to the Miami, and return by the way of Lake Erie. This boat left Rome on the first of June; passed into Lake Ontario by the way of Wood Creek, Oneida Lake and Oswego River; went up Ontario, was carried around Niagara Falls on wheels, eleven miles; then proceeded by Buffalo across the end of Lake Erie to Cattaraugus Creek, and up that to a portage of eight and a half miles, into the River Allegany.

This number contains a favorable criticism upon the Lalla Rookh of Moore, and upon the works of Mr. Walter Scott; which was very good of the editor, and for which those gentlemen were, probably, much obliged.

At a meeting of the Lyceum of Natural History, in New York City, July 28, 1817, a paper was read containing some facts in relation to the locusts of America, communicated by Charles G. Olmstead, Esq., then a lawyer at Buffalo, and subsequently District Attorney of Niagara County.

The following article is published as extracted from a paper printed at Erie, Pennsylvania:

"On the third of July, thirty miles below this place, and three miles from land, the crew of the schooner General Scott saw a serpent thirty-five or forty feet in length, and its neck, which it put out of the water a few yards from the vessel, ten or twelve inches in diameter. Its color was a dark mahogany,

nearly black. The lake was smooth, and they had a perfect view of it for more than a minute." The article does not mention any extraordinary phenomena as occurring upon the occasion.

As wonders, as well as other things, come double, an account is also given of a sea serpent then lately seen in the harbor of Gloucester, Massachusetts, which had deservedly excited a great deal of attention. This monster of the deep, whose existence had hitherto been deemed fabulous, "has been seen," the account says, "day after day, by hundreds of our adventurous citizens, who have employed every means to capture and destroy it. Its head is said to be as large as that of a horse, its body of the size of a barrel, and its length from eighty to one hundred feet."

A discovery is recorded of a good harbor on Lake Erie, half way between Buffalo and Erie. It is called Dunkirk, and is in the County of Chautauqua. The bay is semi-circular and well sheltered, with a good channel; and its convenience for trade and navigation is great.

In regard to the same harbor, the Buffalo *Gazette* of July 22, 1817, has an article as follows:

"NEW NAME.—The place near the mouth of Canadaway Creek and Lake Erie, which was formerly known as Chadwick's Bay, has lately been called Garnsey's Bay; and a village has recently been planned at the head of said bay, which is called Dunkirk."

The old story is told of great damage by rains in the Valley of the Mohawk; another serpent is reported to have been seen in Lake Erie; and it is recorded that President Monroe arrived at Plattsburg and proceeded to Sackett's Harbor, thence to Fort Niagara, and having gone over the battle grounds in that vicinity, continued on his journey, through Buffalo, to Detroit.

The Niagara *Gazette*, published at Buffalo on Tuesday, August 12, 1817, thus speaks of the arrival of President Monroe at Buffalo:

"On Friday morning last, His Excellency James Monroe, President of the United States, accompanied by Major-General Brown, arrived at Fort Niagara on the United States sloop *Jones* from Sackett's Harbor. After inspecting the works at the Fort, the President passed up the Niagara and slept at Judge Porter's at the Falls. On Saturday, about noon, His Excellency and General Brown were met at Black Rock by a committee of this village, who were accompanied by a number of citizens, and escorted our respected Chief Magistrate through Main Street to Landon's tavern, where an appropriate address was delivered him by the committee, to which the President made a short extemporaneous reply. A number of citizens were introduced to the President, who, after dining at Mr. Landon's, took passage in the United States schooner *Porcupine*, Capt. Packer, of Detroit."

The tavern called Landon's tavern was a large wooden building on the south side of Exchange Street, then known as Crow Street, and half way between Main and Washington streets, and was built immediately after the burning of Buffalo by the British and Indians. It is described in an advertisement of June 9, 1818, as pleasantly situated at the southern extremity of the Village of Buffalo. This site was called the extremity of the village, because it was on the brow of the hill and nothing but a swampy flat between it and the Buffalo Creek, upon which no building of any consequence had been erected.

The same paper states that the Eastern stage leaves Landon's tavern, Buffalo, on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at five o'clock, A. M., and the stage goes through to Canandaigua in two days.

The September number contains an account bordering upon the marvelous, as follows:

"A party of gentlemen from Boston recently performed the following tour, viz: From Boston via Albany to Saratoga Springs; thence by land to Buffalo; thence down the river, and the whole length of Lake Ontario, stopping at Oswego, Sackett's

Harbor, &c.; thence down the St. Lawrence, stopping at Ogdensburg, and Montreal, to Quebec; thence overland through the Province of Lower Canada, part of Vermont and New Hampshire, by Concord, to Boston. This route, which was by stages and steamboats, and made nearly seventeen hundred miles in thirty days, with stops of one day in several places, and two days at Quebec, and without any apparent fatigue, displays the astounding facility of traveling over a country, a great part of which, twenty years before, was a howling wilderness."

It is also recorded, as a wonderful fact, that there were in the port of Buffalo, on the tenth of August, 1817, thirty-eight sail of vessels; being one brig, thirty-one schooners and six sloops.

The marriage of Isaac Kibbe, Esq., President of the Bank of Niagara, and father of George R. Kibbe, Esq., to Mrs. Serene Grosvenor, is mentioned as having occurred at Buffalo.

The Buffalo *Gazette* of September 16, 1817, states that, "on Wednesday last, Joseph Bonaparte, Esq., ex-King of Spain, arrived in this village. The next day he passed down the river and viewed the Falls; after which he returned to this place, and on Saturday proceeded to Erie. He was accompanied by several French gentlemen."

The same paper, of the date of September 2, speaks of a large and valuable arrival of furs at Buffalo, as follows: "Last week the schooner *Tigress* and sloop *Hannah* deposited the largest and most valuable lot of furs ever seen before in this village. They consisted of beaver, otter, muskrat and bear skins and buffalo robes. Three hundred and twenty-two packs were consigned to Hart & Lay, and owned by John Jacob Astor, of New York; and one hundred packs were consigned to Townsend & Coit, belonging to several owners. The value of these furs is figured at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars."

The sloop *Hannah*, named in this account, was a large vessel of forty-three tons burthen, owned by Townsend & Coit; and her enrollment may be found at the rooms of our Historical Society.

From Michigan Territory the news is given, that "it is said that twenty-five families from Genesee County, in the State of New York, have recently arrived, with the intention of settling at the River Raisin (near Monroe.)" Then began that tide of emigration to the far West, which in the early days rolled through Buffalo and peopled the western wilds with freedom-loving men.

The November number contains a statement in reference to the Erie Canal, which shows that men in those days of primeval simplicity had not been educated to disregard the ordinary principles of honesty in public affairs. It is as follows:

"The canal continues to be worked with great success. Contracts have been made for the construction of the canal as far as Montezuma, and at a rate that is uniformly lower than is the estimate of the Commissioners. The difference, in the distance already let out, between the estimate and the contract, is about five hundred thousand dollars. Cessions of land have been very readily made on almost the whole of the route already contracted for, and in some instances the cessions have been accompanied with offers of donations in money when requisite. In very few instances have there yet been claims for damages." Such circumstances will probably not appear concerning any public work in our day.

A Louisville paper states that there are nine steamboats building on the waters of the Ohio and Mississippi, which, when done, will complete the number of twenty on those waters.

In the proceedings of the Literary and Historical Society of New York City, it is stated that a communication was laid before the Society in the form of a letter, addressed to Joseph Ellicott, Esq., of Genesee County, from DeWitt Clinton, giving an account of the flux and reflux of the waters of the great lakes of the State of New York. The observations of later years seem to have led to the opinion that the rise and fall of water in the lakes are subject to no laws, but depend upon the quantity of snow and rain falling each year in the valley of the lakes.

The January number of 1818 contains an article relative to a new fish called the *Notropis Atherinoides*, described as "head silvery, brown above, body pale, fulvous, transparent, with a broad silver band; lateral line in the band, fins whitish, dorsal and with eleven rays, the first very short, slightly forked."

History. "This new fish was discovered in Lake Erie by Gov. DeWitt Clinton, who had the kindness to present the Society with many specimens; they are now deposited in the Lyceum of Natural History. I have ascertained (the writer adds) that they belong to a new genus next to *Atherina*, and the specific name I have adopted implies such an affinity. These fishes come on the shores of Lake Erie and even in the River of Niagara, in the spring, in great shoals; but are so small that they are scarcely noticed, and escape through the common nets, their usual size being from one to two inches, and very thin and slender; they are called minny or minnow, together with twenty other different species of fish, and often are considered the young of other fishes."

This is the first account we have designating the common minnow of Niagara River,—used so extensively for a bait,—as a distinct genus.

The same number contains an account of the death of the celebrated John Philpot Curran, on the fourteenth of October, 1817; and amongst the news from Spanish America, is an account of certain political disturbances in East Florida, then a portion of the Dominion of Spain.

It is announced in the local news of the State of New York, that "on the first of December, 1817, seven young warriors of the Seneca Nation of Indians left Buffalo in the stage, under the charge of A. C. Fox, Esq., of that place, and Mr. W. Brigham, of Chautauqua, to proceed to one of the sea-ports and embark for England. Their object is to exhibit themselves in all of the important towns of England; whence they will proceed to Paris, and afterward probably complete the grand tour through Europe. The Indians are all fine-looking, active

young men, and will afford the Europeans a very novel and interesting exhibition."

The expedition alluded to subsequently sailed from Boston, and was well received in England, attracting great attention, especially among the benevolent; so much so that the ladies undertook the fruitless task of teaching the young savages the rudiments of English education, and endeavored to enlighten them concerning the cardinal doctrines of the Christian religion.

The *Emigrant*, a newspaper published at St. Louis on the fourth of December, contains the following paragraph:

"It is said that living mammoths have lately been seen near the Rocky Mountains."

It is stated in the same paper that one hundred dwelling houses had been erected in St. Louis that season.

The literary and philosophical intelligence in the February number of 1818 informs us that Lord Byron had transmitted to London, for publication, a fourth Canto of Childe Harold, and that the coal owners on the rivers Tyne and Wear had given a dinner and a service of plate valued at ten thousand dollars to Sir Humphrey Davy, as an acknowledgment of his services in inventing the safety-lamp.

This number contains the commencement of the account of the famous bribery case of Col. John Anderson, of Ohio. He attempted to bribe a representative in Congress, and was arrested; and the whole question of what constitutes privilege and bribery was for the first time discussed in the councils of the Republic. So emphatic was the condemnation by the whole country, and especially by the Congress, of the attempted act of bribery, that it is confidently believed that no Senators or Representatives in Congress have since that time had their moral susceptibilities shocked by insulting offers of a pecuniary nature.

A contemporary paper publishes an anecdote of Washington, which I think is not generally known, or if known, not gener-

ally credited as an actual occurrence; but which will bear relation, notwithstanding the evident anachronisms and absurdities in which it abounds. It is as follows: "After the independence of the Americans was secured, they celebrated the festival of liberty at Philadelphia. In the great hall where the legislative body was assembled, they had placed an arm-chair upon a platform, and over it a canopy; there was a book of the Law of the Constitution of America. A crown adorned with jewels covered that respected and respectful volume. It was at this sitting that the immortal Washington resigned, in form, the command which he made to redound so much to the honor of his countrymen. After the ceremony was over, the Fabius of the United States took up the crown upon the book of the law, and ascending to the balcony at the foot of which there was a prodigious crowd of people, he showed it to the populace, dashed it to pieces before their eyes, and scattered the pieces among them. The history of the ancient republic offers nothing like the grandeur of this scene." The note-books of traveling and inquisitive Englishmen, abound in anecdotes of a similar character, furnished to them by the fertile imaginations of Americans.

A paper published at Detroit, Michigan Territory, estimates that fifteen thousand dollars were paid for the passage of individuals between that place and Buffalo, from the tenth day of May to the tenth of November, 1817; and adds, that a steamboat was to run on the lakes next spring. The steamboat alluded to was the *Walk-in-the-Water*, famous in the early annals of lake navigation. An account of the launch of this pioneer steamboat is given in the Niagara *Patriot* of June 2, 1818, as follows: "On Thursday last, according to previous arrangement, was launched the elegant steamboat at Black Rock, built by Mr. Brown of New York, who is one of the proprietors. She left the stocks a few minutes before one, and moved in fine style, without accident, into her destined element, amid the acclamations of the numerous spectators, who were highly grati-

fied with the novelty of the scene. The boat is intended to ply between Black Rock and the City of Detroit, touching at some of the intermediate ports on the American side of the lake, and is expected to go into operation early in July." She was soon put into commission, and made regular trips from Black Rock to Detroit and return, in six days. A picture of the steamboat, now in possession of the Society, represents her with guards only where the paddle-boxes were, after the manner of ocean-going vessels; and with two masts, a standing top-sail and top-gallant, main-sail and jib. Several yoke of oxen were required to aid her steam-power, when coming up the rapids below where the Erie basin now is, until she anchored off Buffalo Creek to receive passengers.

The March number gives an item copied from the York, Upper Canada, paper of the eighth of January, 1818, as follows: "About a quarter past five o'clock, on the evening of Wednesday, the thirty-first ultimo, a luminous body was observed in the air, which exploded in front of the town, with two loud reports and a strong blaze of light. The light and report were so instantaneous that although the noise was very generally heard, few persons agree in the description of its appearance and course. Having only heard the noise, we are not able to describe the meteor, if it was one; some supposing that it was a mass of ignited matter thrown from the burning mountain at the head of the lake. Exactly at the same time of the year, in 1795, a shock of an earthquake was felt here, when a portion of Table Rock at the Falls of Niagara was thrown down: at this time, however, as far as we can learn, no tremor of the earth was felt."

The burning mountain spoken of as being at the head of Lake Ontario is not known now to exist, nor can any account of it be found; and no recollection of it exists in the memory of the oldest inhabitant.

The Niagara *Gazette* of March 17, 1818, gives a list of the

shipping then owned in Buffalo and employed in the merchant service, as follows:

Schooner Michigan	of 132	tons burthen.
Brig Union	of 104	" "
Schooner Erie	of 77	" "
Sloop Hannah	of 43	" "
Schooner General Scott	of 21	" "
Total	377	tons.

This glance at the chronicle of half a century ago, may not have been without interest to those who are willing to dwell for a moment upon the great events transpiring in the world in a few months of time. The items of local interest to us in this city, carry us back to a time when this Western New York was almost a wilderness—our city a hamlet—the agency of steam upon our lakes unknown; when the railroad and telegraph were unthought of. Half a century ago, and what a change; but what a change will be wrought in the next half-century, when they who may follow us will be gathered even as we are to-night, and, looking back to this present, contrast their glories of developed genius and civilization, with what they shall deem our primeval simplicity.

shipping then owned in Buffalo and employed in the merchant service, as follows:

Schooner Michigan	of 132 tons burthen.	
Brig Union	"	"
Schooner Erie	"	"
Sloop Hannah	"	"
Schooner General Scott	"	"
Total	317 tons.	

This glance at the chronicle of half a century ago, may not have been without interest to those who are willing to dwell for a moment upon the great events transpiring in the world in a few months of time. The items of local interest to us in this city, carry us back to a time when this Western New York was almost a wilderness—our city a hamlet—the agency of steam upon our lakes unknown; when the railroad and telegraph were unthought of. Half a century ago, and what a change; but what a change will be wrought in the next half-century, when they who may follow us will be gathered even as we are to-night, and, looking back to this present, contrast their glories of developed genius and civilization, with what they shall deem our primeval simplicity.

THE EARLY HISTOY OF

HON. MILLARD FILLMORE.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

I HAVE been requested to state some of the early incidents of my life for the benefit of the Buffalo Historical Society; and in compliance with that request I proceed at once to the task. Believing that an humble origin affords no just cause of concealment or shame,—and certainly not, even when fortune has smiled, for vain-boasting and self-glorification,—I shall content myself by stating that I am the second child and eldest son of Nathaniel Fillmore and Phebe Millard. I was born in Locke (now Summer Hill), Cayuga County, New York, on the seventh day of January, 1800. My father was a native of Bennington, Vermont; and my mother was a native of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. They were early settlers in what was then known as "The Military Tract." At the time of my birth, my father and his brother Calvin, and their wives, occupied the same log house in the midst of the forest, having no neighbor nearer than four miles. About two years after my

NOTE.—This autobiography of the late Millard Fillmore, was written in 1871, at the request of the Buffalo Historical Society, and deposited by him in its archives, under seal, not to be opened until after his death.

The early struggles of an individual, who, unaided by adventitious circumstances, rose from a humble origin, to the first position in our country, told in his own simple language, is deemed worthy of preservation among the Publications of this Society. They may serve as an example and incentive to the rising generation, and as an evidence that honest labor is not degrading, and that the highest civic honors are within the reach of the industrious and persevering, when guided by moral principle and patriotic ambition.

birth, my father met with what seemed at the time a great misfortune; but was (at least so far as I was concerned) a blessing in disguise. He lost all his property through a bad title to the property which he had purchased. I say this was a blessing in disguise, as the township where he had located, being high and cold, was one of the poorest in the whole Military Tract, and far removed from any thoroughfare or central point of business. In other words, it was completely shut out from all the enterprises of civilization and advancement, and remained so for more than half a century. My father then left the town, and removed into what was then Sempronius (now Niles), in the same county. Here he took a perpetual lease of a small farm of about one hundred and thirty acres, wholly uncultivated, and covered with heavy timber. He built a small log house and commenced clearing the land; and it was at this place and in these pursuits that I first knew anything of life. That farm is about one mile west of Skaneateles Lake, ten miles from its outlet, and about one mile east of a little hamlet called Newhope.

I had, like most boys, a great passion for hunting and fishing, but my father was very unwilling to indulge it. He used to tell me that no man ever prospered who spent much of his time in hunting and fishing; and that those employments were only fit for Indians, or white men no better than they. Consequently, I had no gun, and could only enjoy the sport of shooting when I could borrow of a neighbor. Nevertheless, when I had any spare time I used to go down to the lake, and fish and bathe in its limpid waters. It was indeed one of the clearest and most beautiful lakes which I have ever seen. The canoe seemed suspended in mid-air, and the fish could be seen at great depths.

The town of Niles, and especially that part of it, was then very sparsely settled. There were no schools, except such as were improvised for the summer, and taught by a woman of very limited education. The first that I recollect was at New-

hope, in an old deserted log house, which had been furnished with a few benches without backs, and a board for writing upon. In this school I learned my alphabet, at the age of six or seven. Of course nothing was taught but the most simple lessons in spelling and reading. When I was about ten years old, a man was employed by the name of Amos Castle, who gave us some instruction in writing and arithmetic, and drilled us most thoroughly in Webster's spelling-book. I think I went through that book without missing in the spelling of a word; but I did not learn the definition of a single one. In fact, there was no such thing as a dictionary in school, and I had never seen one. From about the age of ten or eleven, I could not be spared from the farm during the summer, and therefore, only attended school for two or three months in the winter. Consequently, I forgot nearly as much during the summer as I learned in the winter. I, however, acquired some knowledge of arithmetic, and read Dwight's old geography of questions and answers enough to have acquired some knowledge of geography, had there been any such thing as a map or atlas in school; but I never saw either till I was nineteen years of age.

When I was about twelve or thirteen, some effort was made to organize a school under our present admirable system of Common Schools; and after that there was some improvement in our teachers. One scholar had a copy of Morse's geography, which he permitted me to look at, and I devoured it with the greatest avidity. I recollect well the impression made upon me by the account given of Bruce's travels in Abyssinia.

I continued thus to work upon the farm in summer, till I was in my fifteenth year. During that time, being large of my age and unusually strong, I learned to plow, to hoe, to chop, to log and clear land, to mow, to reap, and, finally, to do all kinds of work which is usually done in clearing and cultivating a new farm. But my father's misfortune in losing his land, and the scarcely less misfortune of having a hard, clayey soil for cultivation, gave him a great distaste for farming; and he was,

therefore, anxious that his sons should follow some other occupation. His means did not justify him or them in aspiring to any profession, and, therefore, he wished them to learn trades. In the fall of 1814, a neighbor had been drafted into the military service for three months, and he offered me what I regarded as a very liberal sum to take his place as a substitute. I was foolish enough to desire to accept the offer, but at the same time a man by the name of Benjamin Hungerford, formerly a near neighbor, but then living in Sparta, Livingston County, N. Y., where he had established the business of carding and cloth-dressing, came to my father and proposed to take me on trial for three months; then, if we were both suited, I was to become an apprentice to the business. My father persuaded me to abandon the idea of becoming a soldier, and to go home with Mr. Hungerford to learn a trade. He had come with an old team to purchase dye-woods and other materials for his business,—his load was very heavy and the roads very bad,—consequently I had to go on foot most of the way, something like a hundred miles; but I endured this very well.

Up to this time I had never spent two days away from home, and my habits and tastes were somewhat peculiar. For instance, I was very fond of bread-and-milk, and usually ate it three times a day, regardless of what others ate. And here I will say, I think that this early habit, and the thorough training afforded by out-door exercise on a farm, gave me a constitution and digestive powers which have enabled me to preserve my health under all the vicissitudes of a varied life; and to my uniform good health and temperate habits I am chiefly indebted, under Providence, for any success I have attained. But I found, when I got to Sparta, that milk was a luxury in which I could but seldom indulge. On the contrary, I was compelled to eat boiled salt pork, which I detested, with, occasionally, pudding and milk, and buckwheat cakes, or starve. This was very hard, but I did not complain. I was, however, more disappointed at the work I was required to do. I had

become anxious to learn the trade, and supposed I should be put at once into the shop; instead of which I was set to chopping wood for a coal pit. I probably manifested some disappointment, but I was reconciled to the work by being told that charcoal was indispensable for cloth dressing; that I might be so situated that I could not purchase, and that therefore it was necessary to know how to make and burn a coal pit.

I was the youngest apprentice, and soon found that I had to chop most of the wood, having very little opportunity to work in the shop; and as it seemed to me that I was made to enslave myself without any corresponding benefit, I became exceedingly sore under this servitude. One day when I had been chopping in the woods, I came into the shop just before dark, tired and dissatisfied; and Mr. Hungerford told me to take my axe and go up on the hill and cut some wood for the shop. I took up my axe, and said (perhaps not very respectfully) that I did not come there to learn to chop; and immediately left without waiting for a reply. I went on to the hill, mounted a log, and commenced chopping. Mr. Hungerford soon followed me up, and, coming near, asked me if I thought I was abused because I had to chop wood. I told him I did; that I came there for no such purpose, and could learn to chop at home; and that I was not disposed to submit to it. He said that I must obey his orders. I said: "Yes, if they are right; otherwise I will not; and I have submitted to this injustice long enough." He said: "I will chastise you for your disobedience;" and stepped towards me, as I stood upon the log, with my axe in my hand. I was burning with indignation, and felt keenly the injustice and insult, and said to him, "You will not chastise me;" and, raising my axe, said, "If you approach me I will split you down." He looked at me for a minute, and I looked at him; when he turned and walked off. I am very glad that he did so; for I was in a frenzy of anger, and know not what I might have done. I had dwelt in silence and solitude upon what I deemed his injustice, until I had become morbidly

sensitive; and his spark of insolent tyranny kindled the whole into a flame. I do not justify my threat, and sincerely regret it; but the truth must be told.

The next day he asked me if I wished to go home. I told him I was ready to go, or would stay the three months for which I came, if I could be employed in the shop. He said I might be, and so I remained until the time was up; when I shouldered my knapsack, containing bread and dried venison, and returned to my father's on foot and alone. Mr. Hungerford came after me next year, but I refused to go with him.

I think that this injustice, which was no more than other apprentices have suffered and will suffer, had a marked effect upon my character. It made me feel for the weak and unprotected, and hate the insolent tyrant in every station of life. Some acts of tyranny during the late rebellion, have made my blood boil with indignation; but perhaps I was wrong, since the country at large seems to have borne them with more than Christian patience and humility.

One other incident that occurred during these three months of servitude, may be mentioned. The only holiday which I was allowed was the first day of January, 1815; when I went, with the other employes of the shop, to the house of a Mr. Duncan, where the day was to be celebrated. There I witnessed for the first time the rude sports in which people engage in a new country; such as wrestling, jumping, hopping, firing at turkeys and raffling for them, and drinking whisky. I was a spectator of the scene; taking no part, except that I raffled once for the turkey that was perched up in one corner of the room, and won it. No persuasion could induce me to raffle again; and that was the beginning and end of my gambling, if it might be called such, as I have never since gambled to the value of a cent.

In 1815, I commenced my apprenticeship with Zaccheus Cheney and Alvan Kellogg, who carried on the business of carding and cloth-dressing at Newhope, near my father's resi-

dence. I was not indentured, but the verbal bargain was, that I was to serve during the season of wool-carding and cloth-dressing,—which usually lasted from about the first of June to the middle of December,—until I arrived at the age of twenty; for which I was to be taught the trade, and receive fifty-five dollars for each year, except the last, when the amount was to be increased. This was thought to be sufficient for my clothing and spending money, and all the rest of my time and earnings belonged to my father, who had a large family and a sickly wife to support. I was well pleased with my situation, and all things went on smoothly and satisfactorily. The apparent impossibility of anything better or higher suppressed hope, and enforced contentment. I went to school some ,during the winters of 1816 and 1817, and worked on the farm during the spring. I had thus far had no access to books, beyond the school-books which I had; as my father's library consisted only of a Bible, hymn-book and almanac, and sometimes a little weekly paper from Auburn; but in 1817 or 1818 a small circulating library was established in the town, and I managed to get a share, which cost me two dollars. Then, for the first time, I began to read miscellaneous works. Still, I had very little leisure to indulge in this luxury. I read without method or object; nevertheless, I read enough to see the need of a better knowledge of the definition of words. I, therefore, bought a small dictionary, and determined to seek out the meaning of every word occurring in my reading, which I did not understand. While attending the carding machines, I used to place the dictionary on the desk,—by which I passed every two minutes in feeding the machines and removing the rolls,—and in this way I could have a moment in which to look at a word and read its definition, and could then fix it in my memory. This I found quite successful.

The winter that I was eighteen years of age, I was employed to teach a country school in the town of Scott, at the head of Skaneateles Lake. This was at that time a very rough and

uncultivated place, where the boys, the winter before, had driven out the teacher and broken up the school. It was not long before I saw that the question who was master, had got to be decided. One of the boys set my authority at defiance,—evidently with the intention of bringing on a fight. I ordered him up for chastisement. Immediately, the larger boys sprang to their feet, and one attempted to seize the wooden poker, but I was too quick for him, and raising it, I stamped my foot, and told them to sit down—and they obeyed. I punished the guilty one without further interference; but it raised a breeze in the neighborhood. A school meeting was called, which I was invited to attend, and did. I then found it to have been represented, that I punished scholars with the poker. I stated the facts, and told them that I was ready to quit the school if they desired it; but that while I remained, I should be master, even if I used the poker in self-defence. After some discussion they concluded that the school should go on, and I had no further trouble. After my school closed, finding nothing better to turn my hand to, I attended a saw-mill for a month or two, and then shouldered my knapsack, and came out to Buffalo, to visit some relatives and see the country. That was in May, 1818, and Buffalo then presented a straggling appearance. It was just rising from the ashes, and there were many cellars and chimneys without houses, showing that its destruction by the British had been complete. My feet had become blistered, and I was sore in every joint and muscle; and I suffered intensely. I crossed the then Indian reservation to Aurora, and recollect a long rotten causeway of logs extending across the low ground from Seneca Street nearly to the creek, over which I paddled myself in a canoe. I staid all night at a kind of Indian tavern about six miles from Buffalo, kept by a man by the name of Lane. A number of drunken Indians and white men kept up a row during most of the night. Next day I went through the woods alone to what is now Willink, and thence into the town of Wales; where a couple of weeks of rest

healed my blistered feet and restored my suffering muscles. I then traveled back through Geneseo, with great ease, making, one day, forty miles. Then, for the first time I saw the rich bottom-lands of the Genesee River, and the beautiful Village of Canandaigua, which seemed to me an earthly paradise.

I returned to my apprenticeship in June, and improved every leisure moment in studying and reading. My attempt to teach had made me conscious of my deficiency. I, therefore, decided to attend school, if possible, the next winter. But the best school was in a different part of the town from that in which my father lived, and I had no means to pay my board. Nevertheless, I was determined to go to school, and I effected an arrangement with a farmer, by which he was to board me, and when the school closed I was to work for him, chopping two days for every week's board, which I did. I then, for the first time in my life, heard a sentence parsed, and had an opportunity to study geography with a map. I pursued much of my study with, and perhaps was unconsciously stimulated by the companionship of, a young lady whom I afterward married.

About this time my father sold his farm, and removed to Montville, Cayuga County, where Judge Walter Wood resided. He was a gentleman somewhat advanced in years, and reputed to be very wealthy. He had farms and tenants scattered over several counties on the Old Military Tract. The titles were often the subject of litigation, and his professional business was mostly limited to actions of ejectment. He had a good library, and was a man of remarkable energy and of methodical business habits; and from his example and training I derived essential benefit, especially from his scrupulous punctuality. He was in religious sentiments a Quaker; using the Quakers' plain language, dressing in their style, and punctually attending the "Meeting" twice a week, and his office the other days of the week from sunrise till nine o'clock in the evening.

Some persons, without my knowledge, had suggested to my father that it was possible for me to be something more than a carder of wool and dresser of cloth; and he was induced to apply to Judge Wood to know if he would receive me into his office on trial, for a little time, before I went back to my apprenticeship, and he consented. I knew nothing of this, until, at the dinner table, my mother informed me of it; and the news was so sudden and unexpected that, in spite of myself, I burst out crying, and had to leave the table, much mortified at my weakness. Suffice it to say, I went immediately into Judge Wood's office, and he handed me the first volume of Blackstone's Commentaries, and said, "Thee will please to turn thy attention to this." I commenced reading, but without understanding much that I read. I soon, however, discovered, that I was reading the Laws of England, and not of the State of New York. Not having been told that the Laws of New York were founded upon the English Law, I felt sadly disappointed, as my study seemed a waste of time. I however, continued to read, as directed; but received no instruction or explanation from Judge Wood. I was occasionally sent out to attend to some business in the country, among the Judge's numerous tenants; and so far as I know I discharged the duty satisfactorily.

When I was about to leave the office and return to my apprenticeship, the Judge said to me, "If thee has an ambition for distinction, and can sacrifice everything else to success, the Law is the road that leads to honors; and if thee can get rid of thy engagement to serve as an apprentice, I would advise thee to come back again and study Law." But I said, "I have no means of paying my way during the long clerkship of seven years that I must serve, before I can be admitted to practice." He said, "I can give thee some employment in attending to my business in the country; and, if necessary, I will advance thee some money and thee can repay it when thee gets into practice." All this seemed very generous and kind; but how was I to get released from my engagement to serve as an ap-

prentice? To serve out my time, was to waste a precious year and a half in learning a trade that I never intended to follow, and to lose so much precious time for the study of the Law. I had not the money to buy my time, nor any friend from whom I could borrow it. True, I was not bound by any legal indenture, but I had given my word, and that in my estimation was equal to my bond. So I saw no way in which my rising ambition could be gratified; and I returned, rather dejected, to my apprenticeship. In the mean time, one of my employers, Mr. Cheney, had quit the business and gone to farming. During the summer and autumn I sounded Mr. Kellogg on the subject of purchasing my time; and, finally, he consented to give up my last year, if I would relinquish any claim I might have for the increased compensation which I was to receive for that year, and pay him thirty dollars. I agreed to this, most willingly, and was to pay him as soon as I could earn it. I was then in my twentieth year, and immediately took a school for the winter, borrowing one or two Law books from Judge Wood, to read mornings and evenings. When my school closed, I went into his office again, and continued my studies until the next winter, when I took the same school, and at its close, returned to my law studies. During the summer of 1821, the Fourth of July was celebrated in the Village of Montville, where I was living, and by request I delivered a short address. I am sure it had no merit, but it gave me a little notoriety in the vicinity, and a gentleman having a suit before a Justice of the Peace in the adjoining town, came and offered me three dollars to go and pettifog for him. I got leave of absence, and went; but, fortunately for my untried powers, the suit was settled, and I got my first fee without exposing my ignorance.

Judge Wood, however, soon got wind of it, and enquired of me about it; and I frankly told him the whole truth. He said he did not approve of my attending causes before Justices of the Peace. He instanced several cases of the injuri-

ous effect of this, and among others that of Elisha Williams, "Who," he said, "would have been an able advocate were it not for the slang he acquired in attending causes before Justices of the Peace."

I pleaded my poverty, and the necessity I was under of earning a little something when such opportunities presented. But he was inexorable, and said I must promise not to do it again or we must separate. I became suspicious, and perhaps unjustly, that he was more anxious to keep me in a state of dependence, and use me as a drudge in his business by looking after his tenants, than to make a lawyer of me. But I was resolved to be a lawyer and nothing else. I, therefore, after expressing my gratitude for his favors and my regret at leaving, for it seemed to dash all my hopes, told him with great emotion that I would go. We settled, and I owed him sixty-five dollars, for which I gave him my note, afterward paying it with interest; and this is the only aid I ever received in obtaining my profession.

My father had then become a resident of Aurora, in the County of Erie; and with four dollars in my pocket,—three dollars of which was my fee aforesaid,—I started for his house, and arrived there the last of August or first of September, 1821; hoping, like Micawber, that something would "turn up." Nevertheless, I was very much discouraged. It so happened that a relative of mine had a suit pending before a Justice of the Peace, which was to be tried in a few days after my arrival, and he requested me to attend to it, which I did, and succeeded. This brought me somewhat into notice in that vicinity, and I had several other cases during the winter. As the rules of Court then stood, it required seven years' study in an attorney's office before I could be admitted to practice, and I was therefore desirous of getting into some such office; but, no opportunity presenting, I took a school at East Aurora for the winter, and managed to attend several suits before Justices on Saturdays, without neglecting my duties as teacher.

In the spring of 1822, I came to Buffalo, where I was an entire stranger, and took a district school. This I did to enable me to pay my way, as nothing was then allowed to clerks for their services in lawyers' offices. I soon entered as a clerk in the office of Asa Rice and Joseph Clary in this city. I continued to teach and study until the spring of 1823, when the Court of Common Pleas (as a matter of grace), at the solicitation of some of the older members of the Bar, whose acquaintance I had made, admitted me to practice. But, not having sufficient confidence in myself to enter into competition with the older members of the Bar here, I opened an office at East Aurora, where I practised till May, 1830; when I formed partnership with Joseph Clary and removed to Buffalo, which has ever since been my place of residence.

I was first elected to the Assembly in the fall of 1828; and the rest of my public life is a matter of public record and need not be noticed here.

I was admitted as an attorney of the Supreme Court, in 1827, and as counselor in 1829; and continued my practice up to January 1, 1848, when I relinquished my profession, and entered upon my duties as Comptroller of the State of New York.

I was married to Miss Abigail Powers, daughter of the Rev. Lemuel Powers and Abigail Newland, at Moravia, Cayuga County, on the fifth day of February, 1826; and she died at Washington, March 30, 1853.

I was married again to Mrs. Caroline C. McIntosh, daughter of Charles Carmichael and Tempe W. Blachly, of Morristown, New Jersey, at Albany, February 10, 1858.

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POEM ON THE
DEATH OF JOB HOISINGTON.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

In volume i. of these Publications, at pages 52, 53 and 199, allusion is made to Mr. Job Hoisington (there spelled less correctly, Hoysington) and a full account is given of the circumstances of his death, and the discovery of his remains. The publication of these stories of the olden time serves to link the early days with the present, and to call up in the minds of those perhaps far away from the places where the events which they narrate occurred, associations which give life to the "Dead Past." To illustrate this, and add interest to the poem here given, it is suitable to quote a paragraph from a letter to the editor, by Lyman C. Draper, LL. D., of Madison, Wisconsin, Corresponding Secretary of the Wisconsin State Historical Society. He says: "I am delighted with your volume of publications. It does great credit to your Society, and to those who have shared in its production. My maternal grandfather, Job Hoisington, is worthily mentioned; his oldest daughter, my mother, is yet spared, at the age of eighty-five."

But the story itself of the tragic end of Mr. Hoisington did not escape the fate of many another similar one in those earlier days; since it, like for instance, that of the crime and execution of the Three Thayers (see volume i., page 122) fell into the hands of an elegiac poet. He did upon it a (rhymed) execution,—inflicted upon it a (poetic) violence,—rivalling that suffered by the person whose decease was bewailed, or—celebrated. These primitive effusions of the Muse became household words with the people of that generation, now nearly passed away; many of whom, as for instance the late Mrs. Dr. John E. Marshall, mother of Orsamus H. Marshall, Esq., could repeat them *verbatim et literatim*. It is fitting that amid the ordinary utterances of historians, in prose, the "fine phrenzy" of those poetically inclined should now and then find expression in these grave pages.

The poem is here reprinted from an ancient copy, without date, in the possession of the Society. An endorsement states that this copy was "preserved by Heman B. Potter, Esq.; and by his daughter, Mrs. George R. Babcock, presented to the Buffalo Historical Society."

The original heading of the poem is reproduced below, as nearly as the modern resources of the printer's art allow. An ornamental head-piece, in the original, is very appropriately composed of Death's-heads and cross-bones, according well with the subject and the remarkable reflections of the poem itself.—Ed.

Death of Mr. *Job Hoisington,*

Who fell in the Battle at Black Rock, on the 30th Dec., 1813 ;

A POEM,

By Elder A. TURNER.

1

A Melancholy fate,
To you I will relate,
And give to you a short detail
Of a poor widow's fate.

2

'Twas on the thirtieth day
Of December, the last,
Alarm was made, and cannons they
Did roar and play so fast.

3

'Twas down at the Black Rock,
The battle first began;
The people they began to flock,
And to the country ran.

4

From Buffalo they flee,
And make a rapid flight;
Male and female we now do see,
Crying, "a horrid sight."

5

'Twas "escape for thy life,
No time to look behind;"
The husband, children and the wife,
No more can either find.

Death of Mr. Job Eoisinpyton,

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5

'Twas "escape for thy life,
No time to look behind;"
The husband, children and the wife,
No more can either find.

6

British and Indians all,
The massacre began;
Arrows of death, the leaden balls,
Forbid our troops to stand.

7

Widows and orphans were,
Made in a moment's time;
Children and mothers, all despair,
Their fathers, husbands, find.

8

How many garments were,
Stained with purple gore?
While blood and carnage do declare,
Thc battle it was sore.

9

But honor did redound
To the brave SEELYE'S name,
Who did command and stand his ground,
With candor and with fame.

10

While others did retreat,
And balls like hail did fly;
This hero scorned to be beat,
Had rather fight or die.

11

But the alarming part,
Of all the tragedy;
Broke the kind mother's tender heart,
To hear her children cry.

6

British and Indians all,
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This hero scorned to be beat,
Had rather fight or die.

11

But the alarming part,
Of all the tragedy;
Broke the kind mother's tender heart,
To hear her children cry.

12

My pa'! they will him kill,
We ne'er shall see him more;
O, no! my children, all be still,
It soon will be all o'er.

13

But when the battle's done,
I look for the return,
Of my dear husband, HOISINGTON,
But I am left to mourn.

14

Whether alive he be,
Or in the battle fell;
Or yet a pris'ner carried away,
I surely cannot tell.

15

Upon suspense I wait,
For ten long days or more;
I now am brought to know my fate,
My HOISINGTON's no more!

16

In death's cold hand he's found,
Wrapt up in purple gore;
His head and body scar'd with wounds,
The tomahawk had tore.

17

And still for to increase,
And irritate my pain;
Three of my children in great haste,
Carried by light horsemen,

18

Forty or fifty miles,
Unto Batavia's coast;
Scattered they were, I knew not where,
Or whether they were lost.

19

After ten days or more,
I found they were all safe;
Which seemed to heal my wound or sore,
And gave my soul relief.

20

And now to God with all
That I do here possess,
I give away to him, and call
For gratitude and grace.

21

That this bereaving stroke,
Be sanctified to me;
That my hard heart of stone be broke,
And from this world may flee.

22

And rise triumphant high,
Far hence away to soar,
Above the regions of the sky,
Where wars shall be no more.

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THE NIAGARA FRONTIER.

EMBRACING SKETCHES OF ITS EARLY HISTORY, AND INDIAN, FRENCH AND ENGLISH LOCAL NAMES.

READ BEFORE THE SOCIETY, FEBRUARY 27, 1865.

BY ORSAMUS H. MARSHALL.

JAMES CARTIER, while exploring the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1535, was informed by the savages, living on its borders, that a mighty river, which they called Hochelaga, flowed into the sea near by, from a vast distance in the interior.* Having discovered its mouth, he explored the stream as far as the site of the present City of Montreal. He inquired of the Indians whom he met on the way, touching the source of that great river and the country through which it flowed. He was told, that after ascending many leagues among rapids and water-falls, he would reach a lake, one hundred and fifty leagues long and forty or fifty broad, at the western extremity of which the waters were wholesome and the winters mild; that a river emptied into it from the south, which had its source in the country of the Iroquois; that beyond this lake he would find a cataract and portage; then another lake about equal to the former, which they had never explored; and, still further on, a sea, the

* Lescarbot, p. 300.

western shores of which they had never seen, nor had they heard of any one who had.*

This is the earliest historical notice of our great lake region.

Cartier was followed, after a long interval, by French traders, adventurers and missionaries; who, stimulated by love of adventure or the attractions of the fur trade, or inspired by religious zeal, were the first to penetrate the Canadian wilderness, and encounter the privations and dangers incident to the exploration of the vast interior of North America.

Before the Pilgrims landed in New England, Champlain had wintered among the savages on the eastern shore of Lake Huron, and had crossed Lake Ontario with an expedition against the Iroquois in the central part of our State.†

As one after another of the principal lakes and rivers of the New World were discovered, they were called in honor of some tutelary saint or patron, some king or noble. The early travelers not only rejected their aboriginal names, but, in many instances, failed even to mention them. The series of lakes on our northern border, were originally considered as expansions of one continuous river, called by the old geographers Saint Lawrence, in honor of the martyr, on the day of whose festival the noble gulf at its outlet was discovered.

During the three centuries which have elapsed since that event took place, two distinct races have successively occupied and disappeared from this locality, now in the undisputed possession of a third.

The traveler in the classic regions of the Old World, encounters, at every step, venerable monuments and crumbling ruins; silent but eloquent memorials of those who have risen, flourished, and disappeared in the revolutions of time. The Indian, once lord of this New World, now a tenant at the will of the white man, was skilled in none but the rudest arts. He roamed, a child of nature, over the forest and prairie, absorbed

* Lescarbot, p. 381.
† Voyages de Champlain, Part i. p. 251. Edition of 1632.

in his ceaseless struggle for a precarious subsistence on the fruits of the chase. He built no monuments and has left no records, from which we may learn the story of his origin, his migrations, his bloody wars and fruitless conquests. The only light which shines upon his annals, is, at best, a dim and shadowy tradition. Scarce a memorial of his former occupancy remains, save the *names* he has bestowed upon the lakes, rivers, and prominent landmarks of the country. The Iroquois dialects still live in their melodious geographical terms, suggesting a sad contrast between their former proud and extensive dominion and their present feeble and reduced condition.

There is no satisfactory evidence of the existence, in this vicinity, of a race preceding the Indians. The "mound-builders," that mysterious people who once spread in countless multitudes over the valleys of the Ohio, the Mississippi, and their tributaries, never, so far as diligent research has been able to discover, dwelt in this locality. The ancient fortifications, tumuli, and artificial structures that abound in Western New York, can all be referred to a later date and a more modern race. But at what precise period, and by what particular people they were constructed, are questions which have hitherto eluded the most diligent historical research. The Senecas are equally ignorant on this subject. The venerable Seneca White, a distinguished Iroquois chief residing on the Cattaraugus Reservation, now eighty-one years old,* expressed his curiosity on the subject, in a recent interview with the writer; and desired to know when, why and by whom those structures had been built. Many of them may yet be seen within a few miles of our city, and are certainly objects of historical interest and speculation.

Omitting, therefore, from necessity, any notice of the race, of whom these remains are the only memorial, we find that the first in this locality, of whom history makes mention, were the

* He died since the above was written, on the nineteenth of May, 1873.—Ed.

Attiouandaronk, or Neutral Nation, called Kah-kwas by the Senecas.* They had their council-fires along the Niagara, but principally on its western side. Their hunting-grounds extended from the Genesee nearly to the eastern shores of Lake Huron, embracing a wide and important territory. In this region, now teeming with Anglo-Saxon life, they reared their rude wigwams, pursued their game, and preserved a rigid and singular neutrality between the fierce tribes that waged their bloody wars on all sides around them. They are first mentioned by Champlain during his winter visit to the Hurons in 1615, before alluded to, but he was unable to visit their territory. According to the early Jesuits, they excelled the Hurons in stature, strength, and symmetry, and wore their dress with a superior grace. They regarded their dead with peculiar veneration. Once in every ten years the survivors of each family gathered the remains of their deceased ancestors from the platforms on which they had been deposited, and buried them in heaps, with many superstitious ceremonies. This was called the "Feast of the Dead." Many of the mounds thus raised may still be seen in this vicinity. A conspicuous one on Tonawanda Island, is affirmed by the old Senecas to have had such an origin. The land of the Neutral Nation is described by the Jesuits as producing an abundance of corn, beans, and other vegetables; their rivers as abounding in fish of endless variety, and their forests as filled with a profusion of game, yielding the richest furs.

The peace which this peculiar people had so long maintained with the Iroquois was destined to be broken. Some jealousies and collisions occurred in 1647, which culminated in open war in 1650. One of the villages of the Neutral Nation, nearest the Senecas and not far from the site of our city, was

*It has been assumed by many writers that the Kah-kwas and Eries were identical. This is not so. The latter, according to the most reliable authorities, lived south of the western extremity of Lake Erie until they were destroyed by the Iroquois, in 1655. The Kah-kwas were exterminated by them as early as 1651. On Coronelli's map, published in 1688, one of the villages of the latter, called "Kakouagoga, *a destroyed nation*," is located at or near the site of Buffalo.

captured in the autumn of the latter year, and another the ensuing spring.* So well-directed and energetic were the blows of the Iroquois, that the total destruction of the Neutral Nation was speedily accomplished. All the old men and children, who were unable to follow their captors, were put to death; but the women were reserved to supply the waste occasioned by the war. The survivors were adopted by their conquerors; and, as late as 1669, a small remnant was found by the Jesuit, Father Fremin, living within the limits of the present County of Ontario.

Such were the predecessors of the Senecas. A little more than two centuries has elapsed since they lived and flourished in this locality, and no evidence of their occupancy now exists, save the rude mounds which mark their final resting-places. Scarce a trace of their language remains, and we know only that they spoke a dialect kindred to that of the Senecas. Blotted out from among the nations, they have left one conspicuous and enduring memorial of their existence, in the name of the beautiful and noble river that divides their ancient domain.†

A long period intervened between the destruction of the Neutral Nation and the permanent occupation of their country by the Senecas. For more than a century, this beautiful region was abandoned to the undisturbed dominion of nature, save when traversed by the warrior on his predatory errand, or the hunter in pursuit of game. A dense and unexplored wildernesss extended from the Genesee to the Niagara; with but here and there an interval, where the oak openings let in the sunlight, or the prairie lured the deer and the elk to crop its luxuriant herbage.

The Senecas continued to live east of the Genesee, in four principal villages, until the year 1687, when the Marquis de Nonville, then Governor of Canada, invaded their country

* Relation des Jesuites, 1651, p. 4.
† See "Last of the Kah-Kwas," vol. i., p. 43.—Ed.

with a powerful army; and, after defeating them near the site of Victor, in Ontario County, drove them from their burning villages and laid waste their territories.* The humbled Senecas, influenced by superstition, never rebuilt a solitary cabin. Their abandoned homes long bore witness to that most disastrous era in the history of the Confederacy. We next find them in scattered villages on the banks of their favorite Jenis'-hi-yuh;† in the fertile valley of which they resumed the cultivation of the maize, and recovered, in some degree, their former power and influence.

During the Revolutionary War they espoused the British cause. The atrocities they committed in their savage mode of warfare, culminated in 1778 in the memorable massacre at Wyoming; and induced General Washington, in imitation of De Nonville, to send an army for their chastisement. The famous expedition under General Sullivan was organized for this purpose in 1779; which, penetrating the heart of the Seneca country, resulted, for the time being, in their overthrow and complete dispersion. The proud and formidable nation fled, panic-stricken, from their "pleasant valley," abandoned their villages, and sought British protection under the guns of Fort Niagara. They never, as a nation, resumed their ancient seats along the Genesee, but sought and found a new home on the secluded banks and among the basswood forests of the Do'-syo-wă, or Buffalo Creek, whence they had driven the Neutral Nation one hundred and thirty years before.

I have thus, with as much brevity as the nature of my subject would admit, noticed the aboriginal races that preceded us in the occupancy of this region. I consider this as an appropriate introduction to a historical sketch of the most prominent localities on the Niagara frontier, and of the various names by which they have been known.

* N. Y. Historical Collection, Second Series, vol. ii., p. 180.

† Or Genesee, signifying *beautiful, pleasant valley*. The key to the pronunciation of the Seneca names will be found in the Appendix.

On the sixth day of December, 1678, a brigantine of ten tons, doubled the point where Fort Niagara now stands, and anchored in the sheltered waters of the river.* It had been sent at that inclement season from Fort Frontenac, now Kingston, by the Sieur de la Salle, in prosecution of the bold enterprises conceived by that intrepid discoverer, involving the exploration of a vast and unknown country, in vessels built on the way. The crew consisted of sixteen persons, under the command of the Sieur de la Motte. "*Te Deum laudamus!*" arose from the deck of the vessel, as it entered the noble river. The strains of that ancient hymn of the church as they echoed from shore and forest, must have startled the watchful Senecas as they gazed upon their strange visitors. Never before had white man, so far as history tells us, ascended the river. On its borders, the roving Indian still contended for supremacy with the scarce wilder beasts of the forest. All was yet primitive and unexplored. Dense woods overhung the banks, except at the site of the present fort, or at the Indian village opposite, where a few temporary cabins sheltered some fishing-parties of the Senecas. The stream in which the French were now anchored, they called by its Indian name, Niagara. It is the oldest of all the local geographical terms which have come down to us from the aborigines. It was not at first thus written by the English; for with them it passed through almost every possible alphabetical variation before its present orthography was established.† We find its germ in the On-gui-aah-ra of the Neutral Nation, as given by Father L'Allemant, in a letter dated in 1641, at the mission-station of Sainte Marie, on Lake Huron. In describing his visit to that people, he says: "From their first village, which is about forty leagues southerly from Sainte Marie, it is four days' travel in a southeasterly direction, to where the celebrated river of the

* Hennepin, p. 74, Edition of 1698.

† *Thirty-nine* different modes of spelling Niagara are enumerated by Dr. O'Callaghan N. Y. Colonial Documents, Index Volume, p. 405.

Neutral Nation empties into Lake Ontario. On the west and not on the eastern side of said river, are the principal villages of that nation. There are three or four on the eastern side, extending from east to west toward the Eries or Cat Nation. This river," he adds, "is that by which our great lake of the Hurons is discharged, after having emptied into Lake Erie, or Lake of the Cat Nation, and it takes the name of On-gui-aah-ra, until it empties into Ontario or St. Louis Lake."*

The name of the river next occurs on Sanson's map of Canada, published in Paris in 1656 where it is spelled "Ongiara." Its first appearance as Niagara, is on Coronelli's map, published in Paris in 1688. From that time to the present, the French have been consistent in their orthography, the numerous variations alluded to, occurring only among English writers. The word was probably derived from the Mohawks, through whom the French had their first intercourse with the Iroquois. The Mohawks pronounce it Nyah'-ga-ra*h'*, with the primary accent on the first syllable, and the secondary on the last. Some controversy has existed concerning its signification. It is probably the same both in the Neutral and Mohawk languages, as they were kindred dialects of one generic tongue. The Mohawks affirm it to mean *neck*, in allusion to its connecting the two lakes. The corresponding Seneca name, Nya*h'*-gaa*h*,† was always confined by the Iroquois to the section of the river below the Falls, and to Lake Ontario. That portion of the river above the Falls‡ being sometimes called Gai-gwăă*h*-gĕ*h*,—one of their names for Lake Erie.

The name Niagara was sometimes applied, by the early historians, not only to the river, but to a defensive work and group of Indian cabins, which stood at or near the site of the present Village of Lewiston. La Salle constructed, at this point, a cabin of palisades to serve as a magazine or storehouse.

* Relation, 1641, p. 71.
† The signification of this Seneca word is lost. It is probably derived from the name conferred by the Neutral Nation.
‡ N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. v., p. 800, and ix., p. 999.

In order to allay the jealousies which the work excited among the Senecas, he sent an embassy to Tegarondies, the principal village of the confederacy, then located on what is now known as Boughton Hill, near Victor, in Ontario County. They reached it in five days, after a march in mid-winter of thirty-two leagues, on snowshoes, during which they subsisted only on parched corn. There they found the Jesuits, Garnier and Raffeix, who had been resident missionaries since 1669. A council was held with the Senecas, and presents interchanged, but without favorable result. The French retraced their steps to their camp on the river, worn out with the hardships of the way, and glad to exchange their meager diet for the delicious white-fish just then in season.*

No regular defensive work was constructed in the vicinity, until the Marquis De Nonville, on his return from the expedition before alluded to, fortified the tongue of land which lies between the lake and river, and thus founded the present fort. The French General describes the position as "the most beautiful, pleasing and advantageous on the whole lake." As early as 1686, he had proposed to his Government to erect a stone structure at this point, sufficient for a garrison of five hundred men, but received no favorable response. Many difficulties were encountered in the erection of the new fortress. As the place was barren of suitable wood, palisades were cut at a distance, floated to the adjacent beach, and drawn up, with great labor, to the top of the bank. The work was finally completed, and called, after its founder, Fort De Nonville. It subsequently appears on some of the maps as Fort Conty, after a prince of that name, who was a patron of Tonti, one of La Salle's companions; but Niagara soon became its exclusive and more appropriate designation. De Nonville left in the fort a garrison of one hundred men, who were compelled by sickness to abandon it the following season, after having partially de-

* For a detailed account of this expedition, by the same author, see vol. i., p. 260.—Ed.

stroyed it. They left many of its buildings in a habitable condition, as may be learned from a curious inventory and statement drawn up at the time of the evacuation.* No measures appear to have been taken for its reconstruction until 1725; when, by consent of the Iroquois, it was commenced in stone, and finished the following year. The "old mess-house" is a relic of that year.

The French having, through the influence of Joncaire, obtained the consent of the Senecas, rebuilt their store-house at Lewiston in 1719–20. It formed a block-house forty feet long, by thirty wide, enclosed with palisades, musket-proof, and pierced with port-holes. Around this nucleus gathered a cluster of ten Seneca cabins; and patches of corn, beans, squashes and melons were soon under cultivation. Father Charlevoix visited the spot in 1721, while on his extensive tour along the lakes; and has left quite an exaggerated description of the ridge at Lewiston, which he calls "a frightful mountain, that hides itself in the clouds, on which the Titans might attempt to scale the heavens!"†

The block-house must have soon fallen to decay, for we find Louis XV. proposing to rebuild it in 1727,‡ but the project was abandoned the next year.

This locality was always considered an important point in the early history of the Niagara frontier. Here was the commencement of the Portage around the Falls, where all the goods in process of transportation between the lakes underwent transhipment. The traveled road pursued, as now, a zig-zag course up the mountain ridge; but the heavy goods were raised or lowered in a sliding car or cradle, moved on an inclined plane by a windlass. The remains of the old tram-way were visible at a late period, and, possibly, may still be seen. The ascent of the ledge at this point was so difficult, that long

* N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. ix., p. 386.
† Charlevoix's Journal, vol. ii., p. 345.
‡ N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. ix., p. 964.

before the railway was constructed, the Senecas call it Du*h'*-jih-he*h'-o*h, which signifies, literally, *walking on all fours*; in allusion to the postures assumed by the French and Indians while climbing the steep acclivity under their heavy burdens. Hennepin calls it "the three mountains," *trois montagnes*,* referring to the high river-bank and the two terraces above it, which form the mountain ridge. When Kalm arrived there in 1750, he found one of the Joncaires still a resident. Over two hundred Senecas were then employed in carrying furs over the portage, at the rate of twenty pence a pack for the entire distance.† There were three warehouses at the foot of the ridge in 1759, and one at its summit; all used for storing the goods *in transitu*.

Opposite Fort Niagara, on the Canada side of the river, is Mississauga Point, so called after one of the Algonkin tribes that formerly resided in the vicinity.‡ The present Village of Niagara was known in 1780, by the name of Butlersbury, after Colonel Butler, of Wyoming notoriety.§ It was afterward called Newark, after the place of that name in New Jersey, and West Niagara and British Niagara. In 1792, it became the residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Canada, and in the autumn of that year, the first session of the Parliament of the Upper Province was held there. It is an older settlement than any on the eastern side of the river, and boasted a weekly newspaper as early as 1793.‖ About one mile above Newark, a defensive work was built by the British, at the close of the last century, called Fort George. Between this and the river was a storehouse, bearing the high-sounding name of Navy Hall; and near the latter stood the residence of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe.

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* Hennepin, p. 113. Edition 1698.

† Kalm's letter in Annual Register, vol. ii., p. 389.

‡ An Indian village existed here at the time of La Salle's first visit in 1679.

§ Gilbert's Narrative, p. 52. Col. Butler died in 1796. Merritt's MS.

‖ Called the Upper Canada Gazette, or, American Oracle. The first number appeared April 18, 1793.

Queenston, so called in honor of Queen Charlotte, had no earlier name, though the locality was frequently noticed by the first explorers. Hennepin speaks of it as "the great rock," *la grosse roche*,* referring to an immense mass, which, becoming detached from the brow of the mountain, had fallen into the river below. It is now plainly visible under the western end of the lower suspenson bridge.

The Devil's Hole and the Whirlpool are not noticed by any of the early travelers. The former is more particularly celebrated as the scene of a well known bloody tragedy, in 1763. Its Seneca name, Dyus-dă'-nya*h*-go*h*, signifies, *the cleft rocks*.† The Bloody Run, which falls over the precipice at this point, derives its present name from the same tragic occurrence, though the Indians have no term to distinguish it from the Devil's Hole. Their name for the Whirlpool, Dyu-no'-wa-da-se', means, literally, *the current goes round*.

It has already been stated, that the Indians, whom Cartier met in the Gulf of St. Lawrence in 1535, alluded, in their description of the interior of the continent, to a "cataract and portage," at the western extremity of Lake Ontario. This is the first historical notice of Niagara Falls. Seventy-eight years afterward, Champlain published an account of his voyages in Canada, illustrated by a map of the country, on which the several lakes, as far west as Lake Huron, are laid down, though in very erroneous outline.‡ It distinctly shows the river Niagara, interrupted by a waterfall, and intersected by an elevation of land, answering to the mountain ridge at Lewiston. It contains no specific name for the cataract, but calls it *saut d'eau*, or *waterfall*. Champlain describes it as "so very high that many kinds of fish are stunned in its descent!"

The next notice of the cataract is by the Jesuit, Father Ragueneau, who, in a letter to the Superior of the Missions at

* Hennepin, p. 113, Edition 1698.
† The river-bank is *cleft* by the action of the Bloody Run.
‡ Edition of 1632.

Paris, dated in 1648, says, "North of the Eries is a great lake, about two hundred leagues in circumference, called *Erié*, formed by the discharge of the *mer-douce*, or Lake Huron, and which falls into a third lake, called Ontario, over a cataract of frightful height."*

Hennepin is the first who published a detailed description of this remarkable waterfall. He first saw it in the winter of 1678–9, and accompanies his description by an engraved sketch,† evidently drawn from memory, as it embraces a bird's-eye view of the whole river, as far as Lake Erie, with the *Griffon* in the distance. The two falls, with Goat Island between, and Table Rock, are very well delineated, though the height is much exaggerated. A group of Frenchmen, viewing the cataract from the American side, are represented as stopping their ears to shut out the deafening sound.

No doubt the Falls were visited at an earlier date by numerous traders and *voyageurs*, but no record of the fact exists. The Niagara was not a favorite route to the Far West, the Ottawa being shorter and safer for a canoe voyage; an easy portage connecting its head-waters with Lake Huron. The fatiguing transit around the Falls, and the hostility of the warlike Iroquois, were formidable obstacles to the more southern course.

The Senecas call the cataract, Det-ga*h*-sk*o*h-ses, signifying *the place of the high fall.* They never call it Niagara, nor by any similar term; neither does that word signify in their language *thunder of waters*, as affirmed by Schoolcraft.‡ Such a meaning would be eminently poetic, but truth is of higher importance.

The picturesque Islands which add so much to the beauty and unrivaled scenery of the Falls, must have challenged the admiration and stimulated the curiosity of the early visitor. Equally attractive at all seasons, whether arrayed in summer

* Jesuit Relatio.., 1648, p. 46.
† Hennepin, p. 116, Edition of 1698.
‡ Tour to the Lakes, p. 32.

verdure, autumnal tints or winter dress,* they reposed like fairy creations, amid the turmoil of the impetuous rapids, isolated and apparently secure from human intrusion or profanation. Traditions exist of early Indian visits to the larger one, which are confirmed by a deposit of human bones discovered near its head. The access was from the river above, through the still water between the divided currents. Judge Porter first landed there in 1806, and found several dates carved on a beech, the earliest of which was 1769. He purchased the entire group from the State in 1816, and during the following year, built the first bridge which connected them with the main land. Stedman had cleared a small field near the upper end of the largest, and colonized it with a few animals, including a venerable goat. The latter was the only survivor of the severe winter of 1779–80, in commemoration of which the island received its present name. The Boundary Commissioners under the Treaty of Ghent, gave to it the more poetic title, Iris Island, but the earlier one was destined to prevail.

Judge Porter was one of the earliest settlers at the Falls, having erected his first dwelling there in 1809–10. He foresaw the unrivaled advantages of the position, and secured, at an early day, the fee of a large tract of land in the vicinity. In addition to his dwelling, he erected mills on the site where Lieutenant DePeyster built a saw-mill in 1767, and which Stedman subsequently occupied for the same purpose. He also constructed a rope-walk for the manufacture of rigging, for Porter, Barton & Co.,† who were then the principal carriers over the portage, and owned or controlled nearly all the trading vessels on the two lakes and river. All kinds of rigging, and cables of the largest size required, were here manufactured. Much of the hemp then used, was raised by the Wads-

* Those who visit Niagara in summer only, see but half its beauties. In winter, the spray, congealed by frost on every tree, bush and rock, glitters with diamond luster in the sunlight; while, in the gulf below, cones, pyramids and towers, immense stalactites, and frost-work in every variety of form, are produced by the falling waters.

† This well-known firm was composed of Augustus Porter, Peter B. Porter, Benjamin Barton and Joseph Annin.

worths on the Genesee flats. Such was the scarcity of men in the then new country, that the Judge was indebted to Captain Armistead of Fort Niagara, for a company of one hundred men, to assist him in raising the heavy frame of his mill. It proved to be expensive aid, for the soldiers stripped his garden of all its fruit, then very fine and abundant. All his buildings, embracing dwelling, mills and rope-walk, shared in the general conflagration on the frontier, in 1813.

The village on the American side of the Falls, has been known as Grand Niagara and Manchester, and is now incorporated under the name of Niagara Falls.

Fort Schlosser was named after Captain Joseph Schlosser, a native of Germany, who served in the British army in the campaign against Fort Niagara in 1759.* Sir William Johnson found him at Schlosser in 1761. He must have remained until the autumn of 1763; for it is stated by Loskiel † and Heckewelder, that he arrived at Philadelphia in January, 1764, having just returned from Niagara with a detachment from General Gage's army. Heckewelder pays a high tribute to his humanity and manly qualities.‡

The earlier names of the post were, Fort du Portage, Little Fort and Little Niagara.§ It was not built until 1750. In the summer of that year, the younger Chabert Joncaire, informed the Senecas that the French government intended to build a fort at the south end of the portage, above Niagara Falls. The project was carried into effect the same season, and we find that Joncaire Clauzonne, brother of Chabert, was appointed its commandant.‖ In 1755, it was called Fisher's Battery.‖‖ When Sir William Johnson invested Fort Niagara in 1759, Chabert Joncaire seems to have been in command at Fort Schlosser, his brother Clauzonne being then with him. On the

* N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. x, p. 731, n. 5.
† Loskiel's Missions, p. 222.
‡ Heckewelder's Narrative, p. 83.
§ N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. vii, p. 621.
‖ Lewis Evans' map.
‖‖ N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. vi, p. 608, 706.

fall of the former fortress, Fort Schlosser was burnt, and its garrison was withdrawn to the Chippewa River, on the opposite side. It must have been speedily rebuilt by the British, for we find Captain Schlosser stationed there soon after in command of a garrison. The fort then consisted of an enclosure of upright palisades, protecting a few store-houses and barracks. Alexander Henry, who visited it in 1764, calls it a "stockaded post."* The plough has obliterated all traces of its existence, save some inequalities in the surface where it stood, plainly visible from the neighboring railroad. The tall, antique chimney which rises from the adjacent buildings, is not, as generally supposed, a relic of the fort, but of barracks, constructed by the French, and destroyed by Joncaire, on his retreat in 1759. The same chimney was subsequently used by the English when they re-established the post. The dwelling they erected was afterward occupied by Stedman, who was a contractor at the portage from 1760 until after the peace of 1783. He probably remained until after Fort Niagara was delivered to the United States by the British authorities in 1796, when he removed to the Canadian side. He left his "improvements" in charge of a man known as Jesse Ware. They are described by a visitor at that early day, as consisting of seventeen hundred acres, about one-tenth partially cleared, an indifferent dwelling, a fine barn, saw-mill, and a well fenced apple orchard containing twelve hundred trees.†

There appear to have been three brothers by the name of Stedman—John, Philip and William. The traveler Maude found John at Schlosser in 1800. While master of the portage, he accompanied the wagons and their escort, at the time of the massacre at the Devil's Hole in September, 1763, before alluded to. It was a return train, embracing about ninety persons, under the command of Lieutenant Don Campbell of the Royal American Regiment, which had been transporting

* Travels, p. 183.
† Voyage par Hector St. John, vol. ii., p. 153.

supplies from Fort Niagara for the use of the garrison at Detroit. Only three persons escaped;—a drummer-boy, by the name of Matthews,* who lodged in a tree as he fell over the precipice; a wounded driver, who lay concealed in some evergreens near by; and Stedman himself, who, being well mounted, forced his way through the Indians and fled amid a shower of bullets, to Fort Schlosser. Two companies of troops that were stationed at Lewiston, hearing the firing, hastened to their relief. The wily Senecas, anticipating the reinforcement, lay in ambush, and all but eight of the party fell by the rifle or tomahawk. The entire garrison of Fort Niagara were then dispatched to the scene, but arrived only to find the ghastly and mangled remains of their slaughtered comrades. The attack was made on the train while it was crossing the small bridge over Bloody Run, so called after the tragedy.

The Seneca Sachem, John Blacksmith, informed the writer that the party which made the attack, were young warriors from the Genesee, who, instigated by the French traders, secretly organized the expedition under the leadership of Farmer's Brother, without the knowledge of their chiefs. Eighty scalps, including those of six officers, were their bloody trophies.

The Senecas, attributing the preservation of Stedman to some miraculous interposition, and believing that he wore a charmed life, conferred upon him the name of Gă-nas-squah, signifying *stone giant.* The story that they gave him all the land lying between the river and the line of his flight, embracing about five thousand acres, is undoubtedly a fiction. The pretended grant was the foundation of the "Stedman claim," which was subsequently urged upon the State authorities with much pertinacity. If really made, it seems never to have been ratified by the Senecas, for at a formal treaty made

* Matthews died in Canada, near Niagara, in 1821, aged 74.

with them by Sir William Johnson at Johnson Hall, in April of the following year, signed by Farmer's Brother and Old Smoke, it was not only not alluded to; but on the contrary, a strip of land four miles wide on the east side of the river, commencing at Lake Ontario and extending southerly to Gill Creek, embracing the entire Stedman claim, was ceded in perpetuity to his Britanic Majesty.* Stedman petitioned the Legislature in 1800, to confirm the pretended grant, but without success. He recites in his memorial, that he took possession of the premises in 1760, and soon after met with a great loss from the Indians; that as a compensation therefor, the chiefs gave him a deed of the tract containing 4,983 acres, which he had continued to improve for forty years; that the deed had perished with the papers of Sir William Johnson, which had been buried in an iron chest at Johnson Hall. A bill passed the Assembly, giving him the land he had actually improved, but it failed in the Senate. The buildings on the premises had suffered much from decay as early as 1800, and the adjacent fort was in ruins. The old orchard was still productive, the overplus yield bringing five hundred dollars in a single season; but the boys crossing from the Canada side, plundered most of the fruit.†

The Portage Road commenced at the Lewiston landing, and followed the river until it reached the small depression just north of the present suspension bridge. Diverging from this, it intersected the river above the Falls, a short distance east of the Stedman house, and followed its bank for about forty rods to the fort above. Midway between the house and fort, were a dock, a warehouse, and a group of square-timbered, whitewashed log-cabins, used by the teamsters, boatmen and engagees connected with the portage.‡

About half a mile below the Stedman house, near the head

* N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. vii, p. 621.
† Maude's Niagara, p. 146.
‡ Manuscript letter of Hon. A. S. Porter.

of the present hydraulic canal, is the old French Landing, where goods were transhipped when only canoes were used, and where the portage road terminated before Fort Schlosser was built. Along the road, between the fort and Lewiston, block houses were erected about twelve hundred yards apart, to protect the teams from disasters such as had occurred at the Devil's Hole. The remains of some of these were quite recently in existence.

Judge Porter leased the Stedman farm from the State in 1805, the agent, Ware, being still in possession. He was ejected with some difficulty. Legal steps were taken, but owing to the unsettled state of the country, and the difficulty of executing process in a region so remote from civilization, recourse was had to "Judge Lynch," before possession was finally obtained.* Judge Porter occupied the dwelling during the years 1806–7 and 8, when he removed to the Falls. He was succeeded by Enos Boughton, one of the first pioneers on the Holland Purchase, who opened a tavern for the accommodation of early visitors to the Falls, and travelers *en route* for the great West. It became the headquarters in all that region, for military musters, general trainings and Fourth of July celebrations. The buildings were destroyed by the British in December, 1813; but the old chimney was suffered to remain, conspicuous among the surrounding ruins, a weather beaten memorial of the ruthless desolation of war.

Gill Creek, so named from its diminutive size, and called also Cayuga Creek,† and Stedman's Creek, derives its only importance from being named as a boundary in some of the early Indian treaties.‡

Chippewa Creek, nearly opposite Fort Schlosser, is called by the Senecas, Jo'-no-dak, signifying *shallow water*; probably referring to an old fording-place at the mouth of the

* Manuscript letter of Hon. A. S. Porter.
† Savary's Journal, p. 360.
‡ Treaty at Canandaigua in 1794.

creek. Pouchot, in his narrative of the siege of Fort Niagara, calls it Chenondac, evidently the same name, and describes its banks as abounding in fine timber, suitable for ship-building.* It was named Chippewa, after the Ojibway—otherwise called Mississauga—Indians, who formerly lived on its banks. The Canadian Government by proclamation in 1792, gave it the name of Welland River, but it did not pass into general use. The earliest notice of the stream is found in the narrative of Father Hennepin, who, while seeking a site suitable for building the *Griffon*, encamped on its banks in the winter of 1678–9. He says, "it runs from the west, and empties into the Niagara within a league above the great fall." He found the snow a foot deep, and was obliged to remove it before building his camp-fire. The narrative incidentally mentions the abundance of deer and wild turkeys that were found in the vicinity.†

The Seneca name for Navy Island, Ga-*o'*-wa*h*-go-waa*h*, signifies *The big canoe island.* This is in allusion to the vessels built there by the French at an early day, for use on the lakes. Hence the French name, Isle-la-Marine, and the English name, Navy Island. It contains about three hundred acres. A tradition still exists among the Senecas that a brass cannon was mounted on one of the vessels.‡ It was there the French reinforcements arrived from Venango for the relief of Fort Niagara, during its siege by Sir William Johnson. The English built two vessels on the island, in 1764, one of which was accidentally burned there in 1767. The island has since become celebrated, as the rendezvous of the Patriot forces during the Canadian rebellion of 1838.

Grand Island is called by the Senecas, Ga-we'-not, signifying *The Great Island.* It is mentioned by Hennepin, under its

* Pouchot, vol. iii., p. 174.
† Hennepin, p. 75, Edition of 1693.
‡ A brass six-pounder was placed on one of the British vessels in 1764. Governor Simcoe's manuscript letter to Colonel England.

present name.* At its northern extremity, in a sheltered bay, the remains of two vessels may now be seen at low water, which, tradition says, belonged to the French, and were burnt at the time Fort Niagara capitulated, to prevent their falling into the hands of the English. This has given origin to the name, Burnt Ship Bay. I have been unable, however, to find any historical verification of this tradition. Sir William Johnson, while on his way west, in August, 1761, encamped for the night on the west side of this island, at the mouth of a creek now called Six Mile Creek, which he describes as a fine position, affording an eligible situation for a house, and a good harbor for boats. He called it Point Pleasant,—a name, the origin of which certainly entitles it to perpetuation. The Baronet makes special mention of the fine oaks with which the island abounded.†

Cayuga Creek was so named by the Senecas. In January, 1679, La Salle and his companions constructed a dock at its mouth, and laid the keel of the *Griffon*,—the first vessel built on our western waters. The site chosen was just above the creek, close to the river bank.‡

In commemoration of the enterprise, the name of "La Salle" has been conferred upon the small village and post-office at this locality. The same site was selected by the United States Government about the year 1804, for the construction of a small sloop of fifty tons burden, called the Niagara, which was used for conveying supplies to the western posts. The vessel was subsequently purchased by Porter, Barton & Co., re-built at Black Rock, and named the Nancy, after the wife of the late Benjamin Barton, one of the partners.§ While bearing the latter name she was commanded by Captain Richard O'Neil, and went out of commission just before the war of 1812.

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* Hennepin, p. 49. Edition of 1696.

† Stone's Johnson, vol. ii., p. 45.

‡ A full account of the building of the *Griffon*, by the same author, identifying the site, will be found in volume i., page 253.—Ed.

§ Mrs. Barton was usually called Nancy, but her baptismal name was Agnes.

Tonawanda Creek was so called by the Senecas, after the rapids at their village a few miles above its mouth, the name Ta-no'-wan-de*h* signifiying literally, *a rough stream or current.* The French called it, "La rivière aux bois blanc," or "white wood river." On the early maps it is called Maskinongez, that being the Chippewa name for the muskelunge, a fish once abundant in the stream.

The Senecas have a different name for Tonawanda Island. They call it Ni-ga'-we-n*ah'-a-a*h, signifying *The Small Island.* It contains less than one hundred acres. Its upper end having a fine elevation above the surface of the river, was an occasional camping ground of the Senecas, before their final settlement in this region. Philip Kenjockety (hereafter more particularly noticed), claims to have been born there, while his father's family, then residing on the Genesee, were on one of their annual hunting expeditions.

Two negro brothers lived at an early day, at the mouth of Cornelius Creek, just below Lower Black Rock. They were supposed to be runaway slaves. The elder was called by the Senecas, O-ga*h'*-gwää*h*, signifying *Sun Fish*, on account of a red spot in one of his eyes, resembling that in the eye of the fish. Hence they called the creek, O-ga*h'*-gwää*h'*-gĕh, *the residence of Sun Fish.* He was shrewd and intelligent; became a trader in cattle with parties in Canada and at Fort Niagara; chose a wife among the Seneca maidens, and acquired considerable property. The notorious Ebenezer Allen married one of his daughters, and added her to his extensive harem on the Genesee. The younger negro was called So-wak, or *Duck.* Both died more than half a century ago, leaving numerous descendants, some now living on the Tonawanda Reservation.*

Kenjockety Creek was not so named by the Senecas. They called it Ga-noh'-gwa*h*t-gĕh, after a peculiar kind of wild grass,

* Life of Mary Jemison, pp. 124-129. Turner's Phelps & Gorham's Purchase, p. 406.

that grew near its borders. The name "Kenjockety," written in Seneca, Sgă-dyuh'-gwa-dih, was given by the whites, after an Indian family they found living on its banks. Its literal signification is *Beyond the multitude* John Kenjockety, the head of the family, was the son of a Kah-kwa, or Neutral Indian, whose father had been taken prisoner by the Senecas in the war which resulted in the extermination of his people. This occurred at the capture of one of the Kah-kwa villages, located on a branch of Eighteen Mile Creek, near White's Corners in this county. His family wigwams were on the north bank of Kenjockety Creek, a little east of the present Niagara Street. They obtained their water for domestic use from the river, then fordable at low water to Squaw Island. The creek still retains among the whites the name they first gave it—the Senecas adhering to the more ancient designation. The old chief must have been a man of more than ordinary consideration among his people. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland mentions him in the journal of his tour to Buffalo Creek in 1788. He writes his name "Skendyoughgwatti," and styles him "the second man of influence and character among the Senecas at the Buffaloe."* His name is appended to a letter addressed to Governor George Clinton in 1789, remonstrating against some unauthorized sales of Indian lands.† The Hon. Augustus Porter, who surveyed the boundary line of the "Gore," between the Seneca Reservation and Lake Erie, stated to the writer that he was accompanied during the survey "by an old Indian named Scaugh-juh-quatty," who had been appointed by the Senecas to act with Red Jacket for that purpose. They indicated the edge of the swamp as the line for Judge Porter to follow, by preceding him from tree to tree, thereby carefully excluding what is now called "the Tifft farm," and the remainder of the "Flats," as comparatively of no value. This will account for the zigzag course of the line in question.

* Kirkland's MS. Journal in N. Y. State Library.
† Hough's Indian Treaties, vol. ii., p. 331.

Kenjockety continued to reside on the creek, until about the commencement of the present century, cultivating his corn-field on Squaw Island, and drawing abundant subsistence for himself and family from the river and the forest. The survey of the "Mile-strip" by the State authorities, and the arrival of the pioneers of Buffalo, disturbed his tranquil home, and compelled him to remove to the Reservation, where he finally settled on the bank of Buffalo Creek, near the present iron bridge. Becoming dissipated in his old age, he perished miserably by the roadside, from the effects of intoxication, while on his way home from Buffalo in October, 1808.

Squaw Island was called by the Senecas De-dyo'-we-no,-guh-doh, signifying *a divided island*, referring to its division by the marshy creek known as "Smuggler's Run."* It was presented by the Nation to Captain Parish, their favorite agent and interpreter, as an acknowledgment, says the record, of his many services in their behalf. The gift was ratified by the Legislature, in 1816, though the Captain was required to pay the State at the rate of two dollars per acre before he obtained his patent. He sold the island to Henry F. Penfield, Esq., in 1823. Captain Parish and his colleague, Captain Jones, had each previously obtained a donation of a mile square on the river, now known as the Jones and Parish Tracts, and lying within the present bounds of our city. The Legislature was induced to make this grant, by that touching and effective petition dictated by Farmer's Brother, which has been so often cited as a specimen of Indian eloquence.†

Bird Island was originally several feet above the river level; rocky at its lower end, and partially covered with tall trees. Corn was cultivated on its upper end by Kenjockety's father. The island has entirely disappeared, the rock which composed it having been used in the construction of the Black Rock pier.

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* Philip Kenjockety stated to the writer that he has often passed through this creek in his canoe, on his way to Canada.

† Copied in Turner's Holland Land Company Purchase, p. 291.

Its Seneca name, Dyos-dă-o-d*oh*, signifies *Rocky Island.* It was called "Bird Island" by the whites, because of the multitude of gulls and other aquatic birds that frequented it at certain seasons.*

Black Rock being a convenient crossing place on the Niagara, became an important locality at an early day. Its history has been fully illustrated in an able and interesting paper entitled "The Old Ferry," read before this Society by Charles D. Norton, Esq.† Its Seneca name, Dyos-d*ăăh'*-ga-e*h*, signifying *rocky bank*, is a compound word, embracing also the idea of a place where the lake rests upon or against a rocky bank. Its English name comes from the dark corniferous limestone which outcrops at this locality, and, underlying the bed of the river, composes the dangerous reef at the head of the rapids.

Prior to the commencement of the present century, the usual route between Buffalo Creek and the Falls was on the Canada side, crossing at Black Rock. The Rev. Samuel Kirkland traveled it in 1788, and the Duke of Liancourt in 1795.

Fort Erie was originally built by Colonel Bradstreet, as a dépot for provisions, while on his expedition against the Western Indians in the summer of 1764. It was located some distance below the modern fort. The part facing the river was built of stone, surmounted by squared pickets. The rest was stockaded. Bradstreet states in a letter to General Amherst, still unpublished,‡ that "when he arrived at the locality he found no harbor. That vessels were compelled to lie at anchor in the open lake, exposed to every storm, and liable to be lost. In addition to this, they were obliged to send more than twenty miles for their loading; that on examining the north shore, he found a suitable place to secure the vessels by the help of a wharf just above the rapids." "A Post," he adds, "is now building there, and all that can will be done toward finishing it this

* Campbell's Life of Clinton, p. 128.
† See vol. i., p. 91. Ed.
‡ Bradstreet's Manuscripts, N. Y. State Library.

season." He further says, that "to avoid giving offense to the Seneca savages, to whom the land belongs, I have desired Sir William Johnson to ask it of them, and they have granted it." This letter is dated August 4, 1764. The treaty between Sir William and the Senecas bears date two days after, at Fort Niagara, and cedes to His Majesty all the land, four miles wide, on each side of the river, between Fort Schlosser and the rapids of Lake Erie. The islands in the river were excepted by the Indians, and bestowed upon Sir William "as a proof," says the record, "of their regard, and of their knowledge of the trouble he has had with them from time to time." Sir William accepted the gift, but, like a good subject, humbly laid it as an offering at the feet of his sovereign.*

The foundations of the present fort were laid in 1791.† It must have been a rude fortification, as originally constructed, for the Duke of Liancourt describes it in 1795, as a cluster of buildings surrounded with rough, crazy palisades, destitute of ramparts, covered ways, or earthworks. Outside of the fort were a few log houses for the shelter of the officers, soldiers and workmen. There was also a large government warehouse, with an overhanging story pierced with loop-holes for the use of musketry.‡ The stone portion, the ruins of which still remain, was built in 1806, in the form of a quadrangle, and subsequently enlarged to more formidable dimensions. The Indian name of the locality, Gai-gwăă*h*-gĕh, signifies *The place of hats.* Seneca tradition relates, as its origin, that in olden time, soon after the first visit of the white man, a battle occurred on the lake between a party of French in batteaux and Indians in canoes. The latter were victorious, and the French boats were sunk and the crews drowned. Their hats floated ashore where the fort was subsequently built, and attracting the attention of the Indians from their novelty, they called the locality "The place of hats."

* N. Y. Colonial Documents, vol. vii., p. 647.
† Indian State Papers, vol i., p. 160.
‡ Voyage par Liancourt, vol. ii., p. 4.

In the summer of 1687, the Baron La Hontan ascended, in his birchen canoe, the rapids of the Niagara into Lake Erie, on his way to the far West.* Appreciating with military eye this commanding locality, he recommended it to the French Government as suitable for a fort, and marked it "Fort Supposé" on the map which illustrates his journal. This is the earliest historical notice of the site of Buffalo. No attention appears to have been paid to the recommendation, and for more than a century it remained in undisturbed repose, its solitudes unbroken by the axe of the woodman, or the tread of advancing civilization. Voyageurs, traders and missionaries passed and re-passed on the river, but make no mention of even an Indian encampment. Nor does Sir William Johnson, who ascended the outlet into the lake on his way west in August, and returned in October, 1761.†

It has already been mentioned that the Senecas fled to Fort Niagara in 1779 before the invading forces of General Sullivan, and settled the following year on the banks of the Buffalo Creek. A single survivor of that fugitive band is now living on the Cattaraugus Reservation, in the person of the venerable Philip Kenjockety, a son of the John Kenjockety previously mentioned. When the writer saw him in June, 1864, he appeared strong and vigorous, being employed at the time in piling hemlock bark. His entire dress was a loose cotton shirt, and the customary Indian leggings. He presented a fine specimen of the native Indian of the old school, a class now almost extinct. He claimed to be one hundred years old, and a little examination into his personal history furnished proof of his correctness. It appeared that he was about fifteen at the time of Sullivan's expedition, and resided at Nunda, on the Genesee. He well remembered the flight of the Senecas on that occasion, when he drove a horse to Fort Niagara. The fugitives arrived there in the month of September, and remained

* La Hontan, English edition, vol. i., p. 82.
† Journal in Stone's Johnson, vol ii., pp. 451 and 470.

in its neighborhood and under its protection during the following winter. The season was the most inclement known for many years; so much so that the river opposite the fort was frozen from the seventh of January until the following March,* and many of the Senecas perished from exposure and starvation before the ensuing spring. Brant made strenuous efforts during the winter to induce the Senecas to settle in Canada under the protection of the British Government. The Mohawks, and a few from the other tribes, yielded to his solicitations; but Kenjockety's father, who was intimately acquainted with the superior advantages of Western New York, successfully opposed the Mohawk chieftain, and prevailed upon the remainder to settle in the region watered by the Buffalo, Cattaraugus and Tonawanda creeks.

While listening to the eventful narrative of the aged Seneca, the writer could scarcely realize that the man was still living, who not only resided in this locality at the first advent of the white man, but who came here, with the Senecas themselves, to reap, by a permanent occupancy, the substantial fruits of their ancient conquests.†

At the time of the arrival of the Senecas, the striking feature of this locality was the predominance of the linden or basswood over all the other trees of the forest. They fringed both borders of the creek, and spread their broad foliage over its fertile bottoms. Seneca tradition tells us, that in the season when the tree was in flower, the hunting parties from the Genesee could hear, ere they reached the creek, the hum of the bee, as it gathered, in countless swarms, its winter stores from the abundant blossoms. Michaux, the French naturalist, who traveled through this region in 1807, states as a peculiarity of this locality, in his great work on the forest trees of America, that the basswood constituted two-thirds, and, in some localities,

* Merritt's MS.
† Kenjockety died April 1, 1866, aged over one hundred years.—Ed.

the whole of the forest between Batavia and New Amsterdam.* Early settlers say, that the peninsula bounded by Main Street, Buffalo Creek and the canal, embracing what is now intersected by Prime, Lloyd and Hanover streets, was almost exclusively covered with this tree. It was occasionally found more than eighty feet high and four feet in diameter. Its giant trunks furnished, at that convenient locality, a light and soft wood from which to fashion the Indian canoe, and a bark easily converted into various utensils useful in savage life. This bark formed the exclusive covering of the temporary huts, erected for the shelter of the hunting and fishing parties that frequented this region. The Senecas, in conformity with their well-known custom, seized upon this marked peculiarity of the place, and called it Do'-syo-wă, a name strikingly euphonious in their tongue, meaning, *The place of basswoods.*

The origin of the name, Buffalo, has already been so thoroughly discussed in and out of this Society, that no attempt will be made to throw additional light upon the subject. The earliest occurrence of the name which I have been able to discover, is on a manuscript map in the British Museum, found in a collection called King George's Maps, formerly in his Majesty's library. It is dated in 1764, and embraces both banks of the Niagara River from Lake Erie to Black Rock. The American shore is represented as entirely unsettled, covered with forest and bordered with sand hills. Buffalo Creek is laid down, bearing its present name. Its next occurrence is in the narrative of the captivity and residence of the Gilbert family among the Senecas in 1780–81, which was published in 1784. We next find it in the treaty of Fort Stanwix before alluded to. The Rev. Mr. Kirkland, in his journal of a visit to the Senecas in 1788,† speaks of their "village on the Buffaloe," and from that time the name appears to have passed into

* North American Sylva, vol. iii., p. 131.
† MS. journal in N. Y. State Library.

general use. The Holland Company endeavored to supplant it with the term "New Amsterdam," but our village fathers, with great good sense, rejected the substitute, together with the foreign names which the same Company had imposed upon our streets.

The Senecas, with a few kindred Onondagas and Cayugas, on their arrival here, in 1780, established themselves on the banks of the Buffalo Creek. The former chose the south side, and the level bottoms beyond the present iron bridge, east of what is now known as "Martin's Corners." The Onondagas went higher up, as far as the elevated table land, near where the southern Ebenezer Village was subsequently located. The Cayugas settled north of the Onondagas, along that branch of the creek which bears their name.

In these localities the tribes were found, when immigration reached them; and here they remained, dividing their time between hunting, fishing and the cultivation of the soil, until the encroachments of the white man diminished their game, and created a demand for their lands too eager and powerful to be resisted. We have seen, within a few years, the last of the Senecas abandon their ancient seats, on the confines of our city, some to locate on the adjacent Reservations, and others to seek "a wider hunting-ground" beyond the Mississippi.

They left the graves of their fathers in the possession of the white man, and how has he fulfilled the trust? A visit to their rude and neglected cemetery will furnish the answer. The grave in which Red Jacket was laid by his mourning people, is empty.* The headstone of the captive "White Woman," carried away piecemeal, for relics, by the curious, no longer tells the simple story of her remarkable life. Pollard and Young King and White Seneca, and many others, whose names were once as household words among us, all rest in unmarked graves. They were the friends of the founders of our city,

* His remains were stolen by a Chippewa. They were recovered by his family and removed to the Cattaraugus Reservation.

when the Indians were strong and the white man weak. Those conditions are now reversed. Having crowded the living from their ancient seats and pleasant hunting-grounds, let us respect the graves and protect the ashes of their fathers. One of their eloquent chiefs, De-ji*h*'-non-da-weh-hoh, *The Pacificator*, known to the whites as Dr. Peter Wilson,* has feelingly and reproachfully told us that "the bones of his people lie in exile in their own country." Would it not be an appropriate work for this Society, to initiate measures for the permanent preservation of their dead? The remains of such of their distinguished chiefs as can now be identified, should be removed, with the consent of their Nation, to our new cemetery. There, on the quiet banks of the Ga-no*h*'-gwa*h*t-gĕh,† in the shadow of the native forest, beneath the old oaks, where, within the memory of the living, their council fires burned, and their war-whoop rang,‡ under the same protection that guards the white man's grave, they would rest in security, and the dust of our antagonistic races commingle undisturbed.

* He died in March, 1872.—Ed.

† The Seneca name of Kenjockety Creek.

‡ Forest Lawn was owned, during the War of 1812, by Erastus Granger, then U. S. Indian Agent. His residence was north of the tall poplars, not far from the Main Street entrance to the cemetery. The oak grove near by, was used by the Senecas for their councils at that period. They were our faithful allies, and rendered us valuable assistance in the contest with Great Britain.

APPENDIX TO THE FOREGOING ARTICLE.

The following list embraces many of the early names that have been applied to some of our great lakes and rivers, and to a few prominent localities along their borders. Several of inferior note, though of more local interest, are also given. The great diversity that has existed in the mode of spelling the geographical terms of the Iroquois, has given rise to much confusion and uncertainty. This has induced the writer to adopt, in reducing the Seneca names to English orthography, the admirable system invented by the Rev. Asher Wright, of the Cattaraugus Mission. That able missionary has published in the Seneca language, which he speaks and writes fluently, several works of much interest to the philologist, the fruit of his many years of successful labor among that people. The acknowledgments of the writer are justly due to him for his assistance in determining the orthography and signification of many of the names that occur in these pages; also, to Dr. Peter Wilson, Nathaniel T. Strong* and Nicholson H. Parker, all highly intelligent and cultivated members of the Iroquois family.

The following is substantially the key to Mr. Wright's system. If the sounds of the letters and accents are strictly observed, a close approximation to the correct pronunciation will be reached:

a sounded like a in fall.	o sounded like o in note.
ă sounded like a in hat.	u sounded like u in push.
e sounded like e in they.	ai sounded like i in pine.
ĕ sounded like e in bet.	iu sounded like u in pure.
i sounded like i in machine.	ch always soft as in chin.

Italic *h* sounded like the h in the interjection oh! when impatiently uttered; approaching the sound of k, though not quite reaching it.

When h comes after t or s it is separately sounded.

Italic *a* and *o* represent nasal sounds.

There are no silent letters.

A repeated vowel only lengthens the sound.

* N. T. Strong died January 4, 1872; Dr. Wilson, in March of the same year, and Mr. Wright, April 13, 1875.—ED.

SENECA NAMES, WITH SIGNIFICATIONS.

Ga*h*-da*h*'-gĕh. "*Fishing-place with a scoop-basket.*" Cayuga Creek, or north fork of Buffalo Creek.

Hă*h*-do'-neh. "*The place of June berries.*" Seneca Creek, or south fork of Buffalo Creek.

Ga-e-n*a*-dah'-daa*h*. "*Slate rock bottom.*" Cazenovia Creek, or south fork of Buffalo Creek.

Tga-is'-da-ni-yont. "*The place of the suspended bell.*" The Seneca Mission House.

Tga*h*-sgoh'-sa-de*h*. "*The place of the falls.*" Falls above Jack Berrytown.

Jii*h*k'-do-waa*h*'-gĕh. "*The place of the crab-apple.*" Cheektowaga.

De-as'-gwa*h*-dă-ga'-neh. "*The place of lamper-eel.*" Lancaster village, after a person of that name who resided there.

Ga-ya*h*-găăwh'-doh. The Indian name of *Old Smoke*, who lived and died on the bank of Smoke's Creek. He led the Senecas at Wyoming. The name is now also applied to Smoke's Creek, and signifies "*The smoke has disappeared.*"

De dyo'-de*h*-neh'-sak-do. "*A gravel bend.*" Lake shore above Smoke's Creek.

Jo-nya'-dih. "*The other side of the flats.*" Tifft's farm.

De-yeh'-ho-gă-da-ses. "*The oblique ford.*" The old ford at the present Iron Bridge.

De-yoh'-ho-g*ă*h. "*The forks of the river.*" Junction of the Cayuga and Cazenovia Creeks.

Tga'-non-da-ga'-yos-h*ă*h. "*The old village.*" The flats embracing Twitchell's farm. This is the site of the first village the Senecas built on Buffalo Creek.

Ni-dyio'-nya*h*-a'-ah. "*Narrow point.*" Farmer's Brother's Point.

Ga-noh'-ho*h*-gĕh. "*The place filled up.*" Long Point in Canada, and sometimes applied to Erie. In allusion to the Indian tradition, that The Great Beaver built a dam across Lake Erie, of which Presque Isle and Long Point are the remains.

Gah-gwah-ge'-g*ă*-*aah*. "*The residence of the Kah-kwas.*" Eighteen Mile Creek. Sometimes called Gah-gwa*h*'-gĕ*h*.

Yo-da'-nyuh-gwa*h'*. "*A fishing-place with hook-and-line.*" Sandytown, the old name for the beach above Black Rock.

Tga*h'*-si-yă-de*h*. "*Rope ferry.*" Old ferry over Buffalo Creek.

Tga-nøh'-so-d*øh*. "*The place of houses.*" Old village in the forks of Smoke's Creek.

Dyo-ge'-o*h*-ja-e*h*. "*Wet grass.*" Red Bridge.

Dyos'-ho*h*. "*The sulphur spring.*" Sulphur Springs.

De-dyo'-n*a*-w*a*'-h. "*The ripple.*" Middle Ebenezer village.

Dyo-n*ăh'*-da-ee*h*. "*Hemlock elevation.*" Upper Ebenezer village, formerly Jack Berrytown.

Tg*a*-des'. "*Long prairie.*" Meadows above Upper Ebenezer.

Onøn'-da*h*-ge'-ga*h*-gĕh. "*The place of the Onondagas.*" West end of Lower Ebenezer.

Sha-ga-n*ah'*-ga*h*-gĕh. "*The place of the Stockbridges.*" East end of Lower Ebenezer.

He-y*ø*nt-gat-hwat'-ha*h*. "*The picturesque location.*" Cazenovia Bluff, east of Lower Ebenezer.

Dyo-e'-oh-gwes. "*Tall grass or flag island,*" Rattlesnake Island.

Dyu'-ne-ga-nooh'. "*Cold water.*" Cold Spring.

G*ăhdă'*-ya-de*h*. "*A place of misery.*" Williamsville. In allusion to the open meadows at this place, which were very bleak in winter. *Blacksmith* says the name refers to the "open sky," where the path crossed the creek.

EARLY NAMES APPLIED TO THE GREAT LAKES AND RIVERS, AND TO SOME OF THE PROMINENT LOCALITIES ON THEIR BORDERS.

LAKE ONTARIO.

Lac des Entouhonorons. Champlain, i. ed. 1632, p. 336. So called after a nation living south of the lake.

St. Louis. Champlain, ed. 1632. Rel., 1640–41, p. 49.

Lac Des Iroquois. Relation des Jesuites, 1635, p. 121.

La Mer Douce. "*The Fresh Sea.*" Relation, 1639–40, p. 130.

Ontario. "*Beautiful Lake.*" Hennepin, p. 31. Relation, 1640–41, p. 49.

Skanadario. "*Beautiful Lake.*" Hennepin, p. 42.

Cadarackui. Colden, xvi.

Frontenac. Hennepin, p. 40.

LAKE ERIE.

Erié. Relation; 1641, p. 71.
Lac Du Chat. "*Cat Lake.*" Sanson's Map of 1651.
Lac De Conty. Coronelli's Map of 1688.
Oswego. N. Y. Colonial Documents v., p. 694.

LAKE HURON.

La Mer Douce. "*The Fresh Sea.*" Champlain, appendix, p. 8.
Attigouantan. Champlain i., p. 324.
Karegnondi. Sanson's Map of 1657.
Lac Des Hurons. Relation, 1670–71, map.
Lac D'Orleans. Coronelli's Map of 1688.
Quatoghe. Colden, xvi.
Caniatare. Colden, xvi.

LAKE MICHIGAN.

Lac Des Puants. Champlain, 1632.
Lac Des Illinois. Relation, 1669–70. Marquette's Map, 1674.
St. Joseph. Father Allouez in 1675.
Dauphin. Coronelli's Map of 1688.
Michigonong. Hennepin, p. 53.

LAKE SUPERIOR.

Le Grand Lac. "*The Great Lake.*" Champlain, 1632.
Lac Superieur. "*Upper Lake.*" Relation, 1660, p. 9.
Lac De Tracy. Relation, 1667, p. 4.
Lac De Condé. Le Clercq, p. 137.

NIAGARA FALLS.

Saut d'eau. "*Waterfall.*" Champlain's Map, 1613.
Onguiaahra. Relation, 1640–41, p. 65. Applied to river only.
Ongiara. Sanson's Map of 1651. Ducreux, 1660.
Unghiara. Bancroft's U. S., vol. iii, p. 128.
Och-ni-a-gara: Evans' Map, 1755.
Iagara. Colden's Five Nations, appendix, p. 15.
O-ni-a-ga-rah. Colden's Five Nations, p. 79.
O-ny-a-kar-rah. Macauley's N. Y., vol. ii, p. 177.

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